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Editors:

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Secretary and Literary Editor (*Retired*).

The Rev. V. C. Samuel, M.A., B.D., S.T.M., Ph.D.,
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Editorial

During October, 1960, Conferences were held in Jabalpur and in Nagpur respectively, each of which was in a sense a new beginning in its sphere, and both of which are of considerable interest for theological work in India.

The first of these, which was called by the Bible Society, was concerned with the vital task of the rendering of the Scriptures into the living languages of India. The papers and discussions made it abundantly clear that this work calls both for our best insights and knowledge, to lay hold on the proper meaning of the Biblical expressions in the original languages, and also for an appreciation of the meaning and overtones of the words which must be used in Indian languages. Our article in this issue by Rev. J. C. Hindley is a reprint of one of the papers presented at the Conference. We hope to be able to print others in later issues. These will illustrate the kind and quality of work in the service of the Christian Church which this Conference, and Bible translation generally, calls for.

The second Conference, sponsored by the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, represented an endeavour to understand more fully 'the Hindu View of Man', and it consisted of a *colloquium* between a group of Hindu scholars and a number of Christian theologians. The atmosphere in which the conversation was conducted was one of friendliness and courtesy appreciated by both groups of participants. There were not in the Conference any attempts at attack or criticism, but a good deal of lively discussion seeking to elucidate the different positions which were taken up. The distinctiveness of the general position and presuppositions of the two religious faiths were certainly clarified, and this is something which should be of real help to all who are concerned to expound the Christian faith with clarity and charity and relevance in India today. While the subject of discussion was the Hindu view of man, and of man in society, inevitably that subject involved illuminating comments on other aspects of Hindu belief and it was generally agreed that there would be greater value in further meetings of this type to explore these also more fully.

Christian participants in the Conference also had an opportunity to expound the Christian attitude to man and his problems, and from the questions which were asked, some of which were recorded for further study, a great deal could be learned regarding the points at which the Gospel sounds strange in Hindu ears. Reference may be made to questions about the significance of

'fellowship' in the Christian faith as well as about the meaning of the Resurrection. Apart from its other values, one may hope that this Conference will have considerable usefulness in preparation for that to which we made editorial reference three months ago, the Indian Christian Theological Conference on Man and Society due in Madras at the end of 1960.

Books and Publications Received

S.C.M. Press (c/o Y.M.C.A., 5 Russell Street, Calcutta 16):

- B. Sundkler. THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY IN AFRICA. 35sh.
J. Singleton. GETTING AND SPENDING. 2/6sh.
E. Lord. TAKE YOUR CHOICE. 2/6sh.

Hodder and Stoughton:

- L. D. Weatherhead. KEY NEXT DOOR (Sermons). 15sh.
T. E. Powers. FIRST QUESTIONS ON THE LIFE OF THE SPIRIT. 15sh.
J. B. Phillips. GOD OUR CONTEMPORARY. 3/6sh.
E. Stanley Jones. CONVERSION. 12/6sh.
D. C. Wilson. DR. IDA. 21sh.
W. G. Cole. SEX AND LOVE IN THE BIBLE. 21sh.
G. Bull. WHEN IRON GATES YIELD. 3/6sh.
G. Powell. FREEDOM FROM FEAR. 7/6sh.
E. E. Wallis and M. A. Bennett. TWO THOUSAND TONGUES TO GO. 16sh.

Blackwell: (via Macmillan).

- M. I. Lisney. UNDER THE WINGS OF THEIR PRAYERS. 4/6sh.

Mowbray:

- H. A. Williams. THE FOUR LAST THINGS. 3sh.

Inter-Varsity Fellowship:

- L. Morris. THE SPIRIT OF THE LIVING GOD. 4sh.
A. M. Stibbs. EXPOUNDING GOD'S WORD. 4sh.

A Plea for a Fresh Study and Evaluation of the Chalcedonian Schism

V. C. SAMUEL

It is a strange anomaly of history that a judgment on an issue once passed rightly or wrongly, if it happens to be perpetuated for some length of time, will become invested with a kind of authoritative status. This is a common weakness of erring humanity, which has greatly coloured our traditional view of the Chalcedonian schism. But this view has been challenged by several branches of the Church in the East from the time of the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451 to our own times, and it is not right on our part not to listen to our critics.

Our traditional view of the Chalcedonian schism may be summarized here in a few words. In the fifth century, we are told, there was a Monophysite heretic by name Eutyches. He came to be supported by Dioscorus, Archbishop of Alexandria, who manoeuvred through a Council held at Ephesus in 449 to make out that the teaching of Eutyches had been the faith of the Church. This was opposed by many in the Church, and Leo I, Archbishop of Rome, denounced the Council as *Latrocinium* (Robber Council) and exerted all his influence and weight for the eradication of the mischief brought about by Dioscorus. In 451 the Council of Chalcedon was convened to settle the matter. This Council condemned the Monophysite heresy and excommunicated both Dioscorus and Eutyches. But in spite of the conciliar action, the heresy found supporters in the East, and they continued to maintain organized existence. However, in course of time there arose among them men who modified the original Monophysite heresy to look almost like the Chalcedonian affirmation of the faith.

Though this is the view widely held, it is not fully endorsed by a few scholars of the present century who have worked with documents connected with the controversy. The point of view of these scholars is something like this. The phrase 'One nature', on which the critics of Chalcedon based their stand, is misleading. Therefore, though perhaps untimely, Chalcedon which excluded it deserves to be defended. The Chalcedonian Definition of the

Faith, these scholars would maintain, is basically sound and orthodox. But, they agree, its critics, including Dioscorus whom Chalcedon had done away, had not really been guilty of a charge of heresy, as they had excluded the misleading idea connoted by the phrase 'One nature'.

In so far as this point of view goes, one should admit that it is a step forward in the right direction towards an objective understanding of the Chalcedonian schism. However, one does not get the feeling that it has said the whole truth about Chalcedon and its critics. In fact, one wonders whether the scholars concerned have not started their investigation with one or both of two possible preconceptions. Have they not, for instance, assumed that the phrase 'One nature' is bad? Leo of Rome in the fifth century was, as a matter of fact, led by this preconception, and that rendered him incapable of understanding the Alexandrian Christology. We should certainly get over that prejudice. Secondly, have not, at least some of these scholars, accepted as an article of faith that Chalcedon was an Oecumenical Council, and that therefore its doctrinal statement should be considered inviolate? Behind this latter assumption there lies a conception of the nature of the Church based on conciliar authority. This conception cannot be assumed without proving its tenability on the basis of an objective examination of facts connected with historical incidents like the Chalcedonian schism. In fact, if these scholars have started with the two preconceptions mentioned above, one wonders whether their conclusions have not really called in question their assumptions. For instance, if Dioscorus and his successors did not teach any heresy though they repudiated Chalcedon and insisted on the phrase 'One nature', it would mean that Chalcedon was not a necessity, and that there was nothing wrong in their maintenance of the phrase with which they had been fully conversant.

A fresh study and evaluation of the Chalcedonian schism seems to me significant for us in two ways. In the first place, the ancient critics of Chalcedon, as we have noted above, have maintained an organized existence in history, claiming loyalty to the Alexandrian theological heritage and tracing their ecclesiastical history to pre-Chalcedonian times. We cannot afford to ignore them in our search for the recovery of the lost unity of Christendom; neither can we accommodate them without an objective understanding of their actual history and theological affirmations. Secondly, we are faced today, more than ever before, with the need for formulating the doctrine of the nature of the Church. The doctrine that we formulate should be both Biblical and true to the facts of history. From the point of view of the second of these two conditions, the Chalcedonian schism is of paramount importance.

We shall now pass on to mention a few of the most salient facts about the Chalcedonian schism, which have not received the kind of attention they deserve.

1. The issue was primarily a conflict between theologians of the Alexandrian and the Antiochene ways of thinking. In order to give expression to their position, Alexandrians had employed a number of phrases, the most important of which were: 'Of two natures', '*Hypostatic* union', and 'One incarnate nature of God the Word'. These phrases had been opposed by the Antiochenes, who insisted on 'Union in *prosopon*', and 'Two natures after the union'. The Alexandrians, on their part, were most critical of these Antiochene phrases.

2. In condemning Eutyches as a heretic, the Home Synod of Constantinople in 448 did definitely assert that the Alexandrian phrase 'One incarnate nature of God the Word' was heretical, and that the Antiochene phrase 'Two natures after the union' was unquestionably orthodox. In the historical setting, this could be taken only as an Antiochene assertion.

3. The *Tome* of Leo, which was sent to the East after the adjournment of the Home Synod, showed no understanding of the nature of the controversy. It made matters worse, as it, in spite of its acceptance of the term *Theotokos* as applied to Mary, gave expression to a theological exposition, which, for the Alexandrians, was no improvement on the view ascribed to Nestorius.

4. The second Council of Ephesus in 449 was an Alexandrian reaction to what had to be taken for granted as an Antiochene assertion.

5. The Council of Chalcedon which met to decide the doctrinal issue opened its first session with a display of extreme antagonism to the person of Dioscorus expressed by the representatives of Leo. This was followed by a trial, intended to make out that Dioscorus had been solely responsible for the decisions of 449 and to punish him for that ecclesiastical crime. Basic to this procedure, there lies the assumption that the Antiochene assertion implicit in the decision of 448 had been right and that the Alexandrian reaction to it was wrong. Though this assumption was definitely unjustifiable, it received no attention at the Council and the trial of Dioscorus went on. So far as we have record in the *Minutes* of the Council, Dioscorus answered with dignity and composure every one of the charges brought against him; at the same time he did not receive any answer to the issues which he raised. In the end, the presiding officers (men appointed by the emperor and the empress who had no sympathy for Dioscorus) gave their verdict, condemning Dioscorus and five other men as persons responsible for the decisions of 449. This verdict itself was based on the questionable assumption that the Antiochene assertion of 448 was right and that the Alexandrian reaction to it was wrong, and therefore it was one-sided. Granting this, it must be said that, in effect, it was tantamount to calling in question the justifiability of the initial display of antagonism against Dioscorus, with which the Council had been opened.

6. Following this verdict, Dioscorus and possibly the other condemned men were kept under custody by the State. A few days later, about two hundred of a total number of about three

hundred and fifty Bishops met together, most probably in a place different from the one where all the sessions of the Council were held. Led by Leo's representatives, these Bishops proceeded against Dioscorus. They served him with three summonses, one after another, demanding his presence. He answered, in effect, that, because it seemed to him that the Bishops opposed to him were trying to entrap him in the absence of the presiding officers and the men condemned with him, he could not be present, unless they also would take part in the proceedings. Since this condition was not agreeable to the Bishops, they did what they could to express their personal hatred of Dioscorus. In the meantime a deacon from Alexandria submitted a petition to this assembly, which contained the story that Dioscorus had, on his way to Chalcedon, excommunicated Leo of Rome. From then on this came to be mentioned as a new charge against Dioscorus, though no prior awareness of it by any one present at Chalcedon is recorded in the documents. To this, the representatives of Leo added another, without indicating source, that Dioscorus had offered *koinonia* to the excommunicated Eutyches before his rehabilitation by the second Council of Ephesus in 449. What actually is meant by it, or how much of truth is there in it, nobody knows, though this is being taken as proof that Dioscorus had broken the discipline of the Church. Finally, on a charge of contempt of the 'great and oecumenical Synod' he was deposed by this gathering of about two hundred Bishops.

7. We can say with some amount of certainty that the imperial authority wanted to get two things done through the Council of Chalcedon. (a) To defend Rome against Alexandria. (b) To declare Constantinople supreme over the entire East. The Council, in fact, carried out both these ideas. But, in achieving this goal, the Council paid only lip service to the Alexandrian theological position.

8. At the third session of the Council (I regard it wrong to consider the meeting of the Bishops who deposed Dioscorus a session of the Council) the *Tome* was accepted as a document of the faith. This was followed by the drawing up of the Council's *Definitio* with the phrase 'In two natures'. This phrase was opposed by the vast majority of the Bishops present. But they were silenced by the presiding officers by the logic that it was conserved by the *Tome* which they had approved and that opposition to it would be tantamount to taking the side of Dioscorus.

9. Dioscorus had followers in the East. In the face of a ruthless imperial policy of enforcing Chalcedon, the Church in Egypt and considerable sections of congregations in Palestine, Syria and other parts of the East stood firm with Dioscorus protesting against Chalcedon. They continued in their allegiance to the Council of Ephesus in 431 and to the Alexandrian theological tradition.

There arose from this group, during the centuries that followed Chalcedon, some of the ablest minds in the East. In spite of the many disabilities brought on them both by the Byzantine

emperors and by the Arab rulers after them, they have produced commendable works in the fields of Biblical Exegesis, Theology, Church History, and Liturgiology. As for their doctrinal position, there is ample evidence that they excluded every vestige of Monophysitism, and that their interpretation of the Person of our Lord deserves a much better evaluation than it has so far been accorded. To characterize them as Monophysite, or to ignore their positive contribution to Christian life and thought, on the ground that they repudiated the Council of Chalcedon, is definitely undesirable.

The plea made in this paper is that, since the views so far expressed regarding the Chalcedonian schism are one-sided, and since they imply an adverse judgment on a section of the Christian Church in the East, a fresh study of the documents and a reappraisal of the schism is an absolute necessity.

I am son and husband and father and friend, but none of these are me. I myself am simply he whose death God's love has encompassed, and who comes to his death in meeting God. When man meets God and is defeated by Him, then has begun for him the victorious life. We must learn to live by this love with which we are loved. Only so do we learn to live at all. For we live most deeply when we live in the passive voice.

D. T. NILES: Preaching the Gospel
of the Resurrection.

Recent Christian Theological Publications in the Regional Languages

3. BENGALI

A. P. CARLETON

Christian Theology in Bengali. Most people do not realize how much labour has been put into it and how much has been done. Most of it has been irrevocably lost. It is a long story, about which I really know very little until we come to the most recent chapter. But most people know very much less. The need arose when missionaries began to train catechists, teachers and pastors for the churches they had founded. Among these missionaries were able men, many of them no mean scholars. Generally it was the best qualified among them who were given this task, and they did it carefully and enthusiastically. They had no textbook but the Bible to give their pupils and so they had to set about making their own books. These were carefully dictated and preserved by the students in exercise books. I have often seen in parsonages in distant villages a shelf of well bound note books which represent the best part of the Pastor's library, and they are often taken down and used. In this age of printed books we tend to dismiss these manuscript note books as of little value, and we make a great mistake. They contain works quite as good and often very much better than much that is published in English in England or America. In the days before printing they would have been preserved very carefully from generation to generation and copied. Now who cares for old note books after the owner is dead?—If indeed they do not predecease their owner, succumbing to one or another of the deadly enemies of books in Bengal, insects, termites, fire, flood, and, not least, children. So the work of notable scholars, writing with an intimate knowledge of the country and the needs of their pupils, has irrevocably perished. And if anything survives in out-of-the-way places nothing is being done to prevent it having a similar fate. This training work was not only done by missionaries; they had Bengali assistants, but most of them men of mediocre powers, whose theological

writing was probably not of first-class quality, but there were among them one or two very able men. How we have been able to rescue the work of one of these will be told below.

We have mentioned this MSS. material because most people think in terms of printed books. However a certain number of these theological works were printed. The number of copies required was small and the number likely to be paid for was smaller still. The missionary societies had to finance the entire publication, either directly or through publishing societies. But once these books get out of print, they rapidly share the fate of the MSS., for the expectation of life for books in Bengal, particularly in the villages, is not long. Occasionally one comes across these old books ; they are treasures, but few realize their value. There should be an effort to preserve copies in libraries before it is too late. None of the Christian Libraries in Bengal has made an effort to make a systematic collection of Bengali Theological Books, not Bishop's College, nor Serampore, nor the Oxford Mission. The Bengali Theological Schools have been such mushroom growths that they have seldom survived for long the departure of their vigorous founders. Each must have made an attempt to collect a library, but these have not survived the Schools. The present library at the Union Theological School, which has a few old books, should be very carefully preserved, and special effort should be made by the authorities to get copies of books now out of print. Also a MSS. library should be considered. The new Bengal Christian Literature Board has passed a resolution to keep copies of all published books for reference purposes (not for lending out). It is to be hoped that this resolution will be vigorously carried through and the library become a permanent institution.

So far we have spoken of books prepared for those training for the ministry. There is another class that should be mentioned, translations and adaptations from English. This work was done mainly by the Christian publishing societies, particularly the Calcutta Christian Tract and Book Society, and on a smaller scale the S.P.C.K. In the heyday of missionary activity the former was a very vigorous society and had many publications to its credit. Most notable was the work of the Rev. J. M. B. Duncan, who produced adaptations of standard books, particularly Biblical Commentaries, over a long period, some of which are still available, though the best have long been sold out. It would need considerable research to give a complete list of these translations. I am familiar with such of them as have been preserved in the U.T.S. library. These translations were mostly of a more popular kind than the books mentioned above and were intended for a wider circle of readers than strictly theological students.

The value of this older theological literature is somewhat curtailed by certain factors.

1. Missionaries were writing in a foreign tongue, and though they were successful in getting their meaning across, their writing for the most part had no literary value. There were however some

exceptions where they availed themselves of competent Bengali collaboration.

2. The art of translation was often imperfectly understood, and many translations are either too literal or inaccurate.

3. Even when the Bengali was good for the time, it is now very much out of date, as the language has gone through remarkable development in recent years. It is difficult for a modern Bengali to read this old-fashioned language with pleasure.

4. Until recently the vernacular training institutions were on strict denominational lines, and in the Anglican Church on party lines. The teachers were mostly intent on preserving their own tradition and isolating their pupils from possible infection from other traditions. Often books were chosen for translation for this reason. This means that many of the books are 'dated' and their usefulness curtailed.

In the period after the second war the C.C.T.B.S. lost much of its former vigour, and came in for a great deal of criticism. The critics however should remember that in the place of vigorous Missionary direction and control, the responsibility was put into the hands of voluntary workers from the Bengali Christian community. The 'willing horses' who were persuaded to take over the charge, often against their will, were busy men, with no particular experience in publishing or editing, and having to gather their experience in the very complex business of producing Christian literature as they went along. Some think that the Missionary societies who were still providing the finance directly or indirectly ought to have pooled their resources and operated one sound publishing business on the lines of the C.L.S., Madras, staffed with professionals. This is still, in my opinion, the best solution of the problem. The Bengali Christian community is too small for financially solvent Christian publishing agencies to grow up of themselves. Everything that is published is heavily subsidized, directly or indirectly and will be for many years. The spending of this money should be in professional hands. It does not matter whether the hands are Indian or foreign provided they are competent. It would cost more but would be well worth the expense, moreover. Literature is one of the best ways of laying out money given for the propagation of the Gospel.

The Bengali Theological Literature Committee, of which I am the Secretary, came into existence on 1st November, 1954, as a result of the visit of the Rev. W. Scopes, the vigorous Literature Secretary of the N.C.C. He realized that in order to carry out the programme of the N.C.C. it was advisable to put the publication of the more technical theological literature into the hands of those who were particularly interested in it, mainly the staffs of the theological training institutions. So this special committee of the C.C.T.B.S. was appointed and has so far been able to produce ten books. They may be analysed as follows:—

1. Reprints or retranslations of books that had already been published and were out of print. *Village Preaching* by McNair ;

Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ by James Stewart ; *Christian Giving* by Bishop Azariah.

2. We were very fortunate in finding a collection of MSS. of books prepared for theological students by the late Father Chakravarty of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, a competent theologian and an accomplished Bengali writer. So far we have published a translation of extracts from the Apocrypha, and an adaptation of *The Apostles of India* by Ogilvie. We have in hand a history of the Medieval Church and an adaptation of Father Holmes' *Life of a Priest*. I had also published by cyclostyle duplication some years before a small work on moral theology.

3. We have published translations of two books written by theological teachers for Indian students in vernacular training schools. Bishop Newbigin had prepared a book on the Atonement in Tamil which was very highly valued in the South. We were fortunate in obtaining from him the unpublished English original. This, we are glad to say, has since appeared in English under the title *Sin and Salvation*. I had written an introduction to the New Testament with a view to translation into Bengali. This had been published in English under the title, *How shall I study the New Testament?* A Bengali translation was prepared. We hope to be able to publish further books of this type.

4. Two series of books have been published in recent years with the special hope that they might be useful for translation into vernaculars all over the world, the World Christian Books and the Christian Students' Library. We have found the former the more useful for our purpose, and have already published translations of *Christian Giving* (mentioned above), *Christian Character* and *Who is Jesus Christ?* both by Bishop Stephen Neil, and *Christianity and Science* by Dr. Raven. Others are in preparation, and many others of the series might well be on our publication programme. The C.S.L. books are not so suitable as they are written for more advanced students than we cater for, and therefore require much more adaptation. We have in preparation free adaptations of the following: *History of the Reformation*, *Parables of Jesus*, *Doctrine of the Trinity*, *The Meaning and Practice of Prayer*.

We have tried to make our publications as popular as possible and attractive as literature, in the hope that they will appeal not only to the educated member of the Christian Community but also to non-Christians, and have in faith printed comparatively large editions, thereby sinking a great deal of our available capital. Sales have not come up to expectation. But that aspect of the problem of Christian literature need not be discussed here. Much more ought to be produced, but the rate of publication is not likely to be increased as long as the work depends upon the spare-time labour of voluntary workers and amateurs.

Since the establishment of the Theological Literature Committee other agencies as well have made their contribution. The C.C.T.B.S. also published an Introduction to the New Testament,

a translation of Clogg's book on that subject which had been commissioned some time before. We did not take it over as we considered that it was not the type of book needed by our readers. However it is a useful addition to the library of Bengali theological books.

The Bengali Christian Book Club, a vigorous organization, has planned, and already partly carried out, a project for a Commentary on the whole Bible. This will fill a gap. Its usefulness however is diminished by the fact that the series is dominated by a narrow, fundamentalist outlook.

The Roman Catholic Church has also made some important contributions. Particularly, those resolute soldiers of Christ, the Jesuit Fathers, have adopted the long-term strategy of giving picked men a thorough training in the vernaculars of India so that they can themselves produce work of a first-class literary character. This wise investment is already beginning to pay handsome dividends. They are not interested in theological literature for the training of their clergy, which is not done through the medium of the vernacular, but in providing suitable reading material for the educated, Christian and non-Christian alike. This is a notable contribution to the work of evangelism.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

The Revd. Dr. V. C. Samuel and the Revd. J. C. Hindley are on the staff of Serampore College.

The Revd. Fr. A. P. Carleton is a member of the Oxford Mission Brotherhood of the Epiphany.

The Revd. A. C. M. Hargreaves is on the staff of Bishop's College, Calcutta.

The Translation of Words for 'Covenant'¹

J. C. HINDLEY

Perhaps for few New Testament words is the Old Testament background more essential to a true interpretation than for the word *diatheke*. But we immediately run into difficulties because of the very different emphases given to the Hebrew *berith* and the LXX *diatheke* by our major Old Testament authorities. This paper cannot claim to be a full study of the evidence. It offers a few notes on the way to such a study, which may guide us in the immediate problem of producing our various Indian translations.

The problem is challengingly put by the recent American edition of Bauer's *Lexicon* by Arndt and Gingrich. They will permit the translation 'covenant' only under the most stringent conditions, and in the body of their article suggest as preferable such variants as *declaration of God's will, ordinance, decree*. This interpretation seems to go back to the work of J. Behm, first published in 1912² and repeated in the *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*. Here, in regard to LXX usage, we have the emphatic conclusion: 'Through the retention of the noun *Bund* ("covenant") which does not exactly cover *berith*, through compromise formulae such as *Bundesverfügung* ("covenant-decree") or *Vertragsordnung* ("contractual ordinance"), or through the importation of the noun *Testament* which is foreign to the Old Testament world of thought, the actual linguistic and religious content which is basic for the New Testament idea of *diatheke* is obscured or falsified.'³

On the other hand, Burton⁴ is much more moderate. He agrees that in Biblical usage with reference to God's covenant the stress is on God's initiative and God's gracious promise. But there is still present a certain idea of mutuality, involving obligations laid upon the people and assumed by them, for, he declares, 'the Hebrew word uniformly signifies *covenant, compact*.'

¹ A paper presented to the Bible Translators' Conference at Jabalpur, October, 1960.

² Der Begriff, *Διαθήκη* in Neuen Testament.

³ T.W.N.T., II, p. 130. One may further question how far the German *Bund* is really equivalent to the English *covenant*.

⁴ I.C.C., *Galatians*, Appendix XVIII.

The whole question must now be discussed in the light of J. Pedersen's great work, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*. One can almost say that for Pedersen the idea of *berith* is fundamental for his whole presentation of Hebrew life and thought, in personal, social, national, and Godward relationships. But for Pedersen the key phrase to express *berith* is *psychic community*, a concept which is not quite either *decree* or *covenant*, but is much closer to the latter.

Now Behm admits that *berith* does not always have an entirely unilateral meaning (*decree* or *ordinance*): it alternates between *covenant* or *treaty* and *decree*. This ambiguity is taken over in LXX by *diatheke*. Our translation problem, therefore, can be put in this way. Does the stress rightly laid on the initiative of God in His covenant with men require us to separate out all these passages for one translation, and so distinguish them from *berith* in the sense of *treaty* or *compact* between men? This is done to some extent by R.S.V., which keeps *covenant* for the religious meaning, but offers a number of alternatives for purely human examples of *berith*: e.g. *treaty* (1 Kings 5: 12), *allies* of Abraham (Gen. 14: 13), *league* (1 Kings 15: 19), *bargain* (Hosea 12: 1). (We may note for future reference that LXX has *diatheke* in all these places). Or, on the other hand, can we trace a real line of connection between the various uses of *berith* (as Pedersen does), which would mean that R.S.V.'s treatment results in a serious obscuration of meaning, a misrepresentation as great as that feared by Behm for the opposite policy?

Berith-Diatheke AS DECREE

It is agreed by all that in such cases as Solomon's dealings with Hiram⁵ *berith* means *covenant* in its non-religious sense, or *treaty*. We must review the case for giving *berith* a different translation when it refers to God's covenant with Israel.

There is no doubt that God is the author of the covenant. Israel does not bargain with Him, but receives His covenant as a gracious gift. If, therefore, *treaty* (or any similar word) suggests an arrangement between equals, it is plainly a doubtful starter. It must, on the other hand, be observed that a treaty among men is often a very one-sided affair.

On the LXX usage Behm observes that the word *diatheke* is used in poetical parallelism with 'law', 'command', 'ordinances', 'decrees' and 'judgments' (*nomos, prostagma, entolai, dikaio-mata, krimata*). The word is also used as the direct object of verbs such as 'observe', 'guard', 'maintain', 'transgress', 'abide in', 'walk in' (*entellesthai, phylattein, terein, parabainein, parelthein, emmenein, poreuesthai*). Hence, concludes Behm, in regard to LXX usage, 'As a synonym of "law" (*nomos*), etc., *diatheke* cannot mean *treaty* or *covenant* (*Vertrag* or *Bund*), but must mean *regulation* or *decree* (*Anordnung, Verfügung*)'. He translates the

⁵ 1 Kings 5: 12.

crucial phrase in ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ δίδωμι αὐτῷ διαθήκην εἰρήνης as a decree which brings him salvation (Numbers 25:12).

Before, however, we agree to this analysis, certain points must be observed.

1. The general principles on which 'poetical parallelism' is invoked in this kind of debate require examination. We may usefully draw the following distinctions: (a) Linguistic Meaning, (b) Linguistic Equivalence, (c) Theological Implications. By (a), Linguistic Meaning, I mean the central core of meaning which a word carries with it in nearly all contexts of its occurrence. By (b), Linguistic Equivalence, I mean the situation of Hebrew parallelism where one word is (metrically) equivalent to another, and the latter tends to indicate the emphasis of meaning to be given to the former. This is an important element in determining (a) Linguistic Meaning, but not the only one, and do the principles of metrical parallelism require us to assume an *identity* of meaning? (c) Theological Implication in the very important deductions which may be drawn from Linguistic Equivalence. But it may be questioned whether in such a situation we should actually alter the translation (i.e. assume a change in Linguistic Meaning), or rather, should point out that such an extension of meaning is implied by certain facts of Linguistic Equivalence, and allow these facts to make their own impact on the word used in translation. A good example is the case of *tsedaqah* in such contexts as Isaiah 46:13. Undoubtedly the Linguistic Equivalence between 'righteousness' and 'salvation' here leads to Theological Implications of vital importance. But it is a question how far the argument extends to the Linguistic Meaning of *tsedaqah*.⁶ By removing *righteousness* from these critical passages in our translation (as R.S.V. does) may we not obscure from the ordinary Bible reader their important bearing on St. Paul's doctrine of justification?

In the case of *berith-diatheke* one may doubt whether the poetical parallelisms adduced by Behm can take us beyond Theological Implication. They tell us that for the Hebrew the covenant relationship created by God was as binding and authoritative as a decree or law, but we cannot infer that *decree* or *law* exhausts the meaning of *berith*.

2. It may further be suggested that while Behm may have given a correct analysis of tendencies in LXX, it is relevant to recall C. H. Dodd's demonstration⁷ of the totally inadequate nature of the word *nomos* as a rendering of the Hebrew *torah*. *Diatheke* in synonymous parallelism with *nomos* is therefore not a bit the same thing as *berith* in synonymous parallelism with *torah*.

3. On the characteristic phrase 'covenant of peace', J. Pedersen declares, 'These two words are of different origin and

⁶ Cf. Burton, *Galatians*, p. 462; Schrenk, *Righteousness* (Kittel Bible Key-Words), p. 42.

⁷ *The Bible and the Greeks*, chap. 2.

scope, but they do not designate different kinds of relationship. *Shalom* means the state prevailing in those united: the growth and full harmony of the soul; *berith*, the community with all the privileges and duties implied in it. Therefore both words may be used together, "a covenant of peace" being only a stronger expression for "covenant". The two words are often used interchangeably.⁸

COVENANT-PEACE IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

The discussion thus leads to an outline of the view of covenant propounded by J. Pedersen. He devotes a whole chapter to 'Peace and Covenant'.⁹ Peace is a rich positive word, denoting the harmony of the community. Though it may exist in different degrees, it is ideally a 'psychic community', 'the blessing acting through the community', which extends first to the family, uniting the individual soul with its blood relatives into a 'corporate personality', and then uniting all families into a wider community of the nation. Such a condition of positive harmony and well-being can otherwise be denoted by the word *berith*, and it may be both expressed and created between individuals or nations, not previously so related, by the conclusion of an outwardly expressed 'treaty' (also *berith*). A famous example of this relationship between individuals is the story of David and Jonathan, on which Pedersen may be quoted: 'Friendship is a community of souls. Two souls enter into a unity and form one whole. It means that they are ruled by a common will, this being the substance of the covenant'.¹⁰

This relationship may be extended to embrace nations. 'The two parties formed common customs and views, a common life'.¹¹ This came about between Solomon and Hiram of Tyre, and so Amos blames Tyre because 'they forgot the brotherly covenant and sold Israelites as slaves to Edom' (Amos 1:9).

Moreover, this relationship of *berith* by no means necessarily means that the two parties are on an equal footing: in fact one is always stronger, and the will of the stronger becomes the dominating force in the covenant. So Pedersen comments on the covenant between Zedekiah and Nebuchadnezzar by which the former was installed as a puppet king in Jerusalem, 'The covenant consists in Zedekiah and Nebuchadnezzar having one will, viz. that of Nebuchadnezzar'.¹²

A further quotation from Pedersen will show his interpretation of *berith*, and its centrality for Old Testament thought:

'Peace and covenant are thus two expressions of the common life of the souls. All life is common life, and so

⁸ J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*, I-II, p. 285.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 263-310.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 293.

peace and covenant are really denominations of life itself. One is born of a covenant and into a covenant, and wherever one moves in life, one makes a covenant or acts on the basis of the already existing covenant. If everything that comes under the term of covenant were dissolved, existence would fall to pieces, because no soul can live an isolated life . . . Therefore the annihilation of the covenant would not only be the ruin of society, but the dissolution of each individual soul.¹³

It is rather obvious that this analysis can be applied supremely to Israel's relationship with God. If covenants form a series both in regard to inclusiveness and the degree of subordination of one partner to the other, then clearly, God's covenant with Israel is the absolute and limiting term of such a series. So Pedersen writes:

'The most apt expression of the relation between Yahweh and Israel is the covenant, *berith*. This denotes the psychic communion and the common purpose which united the people and its God. It is also expressed by saying that the peace of Yahweh reigns in Israel; therefore the relation between them is characterized by love, the feeling of fellowship among kinsmen. The covenant finds expression in the nature and customs of the people. By observing this *mishpat* Israel maintains the covenant, but a departure from true custom, to which in the first place would belong intercourse with other gods, is a breach of the covenant. Yahweh maintains the covenant by acting as the God of Israel.'¹⁴

The important fact of Pedersen's analysis for our purposes is that it indicates a line of development within the same general concept from the relationship of individuals or nations which are 'in covenant' to the use of this idea with regard to God's relationship with His people. At the same time, by stressing the inequality in the balance of psychic forces which exists in all covenants, it makes room for the necessary stress on the initiative and supremacy of God in the limiting case when the covenant is from Him, and not some mere agreement between men.

Even if Pedersen's view be pronounced wrong by those better fitted to judge than I, it is surely a very important possibility. As we are translating, and not interpreting or theologizing, it would seem to be important so to do our work that no such exegetical avenue is closed: the choice of *decree* or *ordinance*, etc., for the actual translation of *berith* would appear to do this, and might very well be judged to fall into the error of substituting 'Theological Implication on the basis of Linguistic Equivalence' for true 'Linguistic Meaning.'

¹³ J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*, I-II, p. 308.

¹⁴ *Israel*, III-IV, p. 612. It will be observed in passing that the latter part of this quotation deals effectively with Behm's poetical parallelism between *covenant* and *law, judgments*, etc.

THE TRANSLATION 'COVENANT'

Leaving on one side for the moment the question of how a translation might best leave open the way for Pedersen's interpretation, one may at this point indicate certain key passages referring to the covenant of God where the translation *decree* would be extremely unnatural.

At Ezekiel 16:8 God's covenant with his people is likened to a lover's betrothal:

'When I passed by you again and looked upon you, behold you were at the age for love; and I spread my skirt over you, and covered your nakedness, yea, I plighted my troth to you and entered into a covenant with you, says the Lord God, and you became mine.'

Furthermore, there are certainly some passages where man is said to make a covenant with God. E.g.:

'They shall ask the way to Zion, with faces turned toward it, saying "Come, let us join ourselves to the Lord in an everlasting covenant which will never be forgotten"' (Jeremiah 50:5).¹⁵

'And the king stood by the pillar and made a covenant before the Lord to walk after the Lord and to keep his commandments and his testimonies and his statutes, with all his heart and all his soul, to perform the words of this covenant that were written in this book; and all the people joined in the covenant' (2 Kings 23:3).

This passage is significant. On the one hand the expressions 'the king made a covenant' and 'all the people joined in the covenant' seem clearly to rule out the idea of 'decree'. The covenant may spring from the unilateral decree of God: but being something which the king can 'make' and in which the people 'join', it cannot be equated with 'law' (Greek sense) or 'decree'. On the other hand, the passage makes it equally clear that what the king and people do is not to bargain with God (it is not a treaty), but to accept His terms: the initiative is wholly with God who has revealed his will (on this occasion) in the words of the Book of the Covenant, and being 'in covenant' with Him means walking after the Lord, keeping his commandments, etc.

Perhaps even more significant is 2 Kings 11:17:

'And Jehoiada made a covenant between the Lord and the king and people, that they should be the Lord's people; and also between the king and the people.'

Here the covenant between the king and people is clearly the same kind of relationship as that between God, king and people. If we adopt Pedersen's phrase of 'psychic community' this need

¹⁵ The LXX equivalent (Jer. 27:5) reads: *καταφεύξονται πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεόν, διαθήκη γὰρ αἰώνιος οὐκ ἐπιλησθήσεται*. Is this exclusion of the idea of man's making a covenant with God accidental or intentional?

not give us theological qualms : for we remember that in the latter case one of the 'psyches' involved is the Almighty. On the other hand it is extremely difficult to see how this passage can be accommodated by rendering *berith* as *decree*.

Furthermore, as Burton reminds us,¹⁶ while the stress is overwhelmingly on the initiative of God, there still remains a certain element of mutuality. It is difficult not to read a connection of thought between the first two verses of Genesis 17 :

'The Lord appeared to Abram and said to him, "I am God Almighty ; walk before me and be blameless ; and I will make my covenant between me and you and will multiply you exceedingly "'.

Similarly, in Exodus 19:8, in response to the revelation of God the people say, 'All that the Lord has spoken we will do.'

THE CHOICE OF *Diatheke* BY LXX

In Classical Greek the word means an 'arrangement, disposition, testamentary in character' (Burton). It is used in the singular, of a will, and in the plural, of the provisions of a will. In a very few places it also means a compact or contract : in such a sense, however, it is distinctly more one-sided than the natural *syntheke*. As has been frequently observed, if *berith* was understood by the LXX writers as a 'contract', 'treaty' or 'covenant' (in the simple sense), the obvious Greek rendering would have been *syntheke*. There must be some point in choosing the word *diatheke*, and giving it a meaning which it only rarely carried in Classical Greek, and in the Papyri or Josephus, apparently, never.

The reason no doubt is that the LXX translators were very aware of the theological point from which we began—viz. that God's covenant is not a treaty between equals, but the decree or ordinance of God to man. It is basically and inevitably one-sided : it is *diatheke*, not *syntheke*.

This observation, however, does not solve our problem. It is evidence for the overriding consideration in the minds of the LXX translators, but it is not certain evidence for the original meaning of *berith*. *Diatheke* in the New Testament must certainly be understood (except in a few passages) with reference to the Old Testament *berith*, rather than with reference to the usual *koine* meaning of *will* or *testament*. The LXX tradition and *koine* use, however, must have had some influence. We have therefore to observe a two-way process, in which the translation word and its context act and react upon one another.

THE INFLUENCE OF *Berith* ON *Diatheke*

There can be little doubt that in being used to translate *berith* in non-religious contexts the word *diatheke* was stretched

¹⁶ *Galatians*, p. 497.

to include in fuller measure the idea of *syntheke*. Thus in most of the contexts where *berith* means *treaty* between men, it is rendered by *diatheke*. E.g.: Solomon and Hiram, 3 Bas. 5:26 (1 Kings 5:12); David and the elders of Israel, 1 Chronicles 11:3; the men of Jabesh and Hagash, 1 Bas. 11:1-2 (1 Sam. 11:1-2).

Moreover, it can take on something of the Hebrew feel of 'psychic community', as is made clear by the phrase *ἐν διαθήκῃ*. One may compare the Ezekiel passage already quoted, which compares God's covenant with the troth of a lover:

εἰσῆλθον ἐν διαθήκῃ μετὰ σοῦ, λέγει κύριος, καὶ ἐγένου μοι.

Again (underlining Pedersen's account of treaty relations between nations), Ahab says to Benhadad (or possibly vice versa—the subject is a little unclear in the Greek):

καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν διαθήκῃ ἐξαποστελῶ σε. καὶ διέθετο αὐτῷ διαθήκην.

I will send you forth in covenant. And he made a covenant with him (3 Bas. 21:34; 1 Kings 20:34).

In one of the most striking passages we actually have *diatheke* in synonymous parallelism with *syntheke*:

ἐποιήσαμεν διαθήκην μετὰ τοῦ ἄδου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ θανάτου συνθήκας.

We have made a covenant with Hades, and with death we have an agreement (Isaiah 28:15).

Nor was this approximation of *diatheke* to *syntheke* limited to the canonical books. It is embedded in a very clear passage of 1 Maccabees:

'In those days came there forth out of Israel transgressors of the law and persuaded many saying, Let us go and make a covenant with the Gentiles that are round about us' (1 Macc. 1:11).

This is no doubt in deliberate contrast to those who would not profane 'the holy covenant' (1 Macc. 1:63). But when we find that these are also described by Mattathias as 'those who are zealous for the law and maintain the covenant' (*πᾶς ὁ ζηλῶν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ἰστῶν διαθήκην*) (1 Macc. 2:27) we seem confirmed in our view that both covenant with the Gentiles and covenant with God are different forms of 'psychic community'.

We get the same impression from the recurrence of the phrase *ἐν διαθήκῃ* in the Wisdom of ben Sirach:

'Be steadfast in thy covenant (*στῆθι ἐν διαθήκῃ σου*) and be conversant therein, and wax old in thy work' (Sir. 11:20).

Similarly, of Abraham, ben Sirach says,

'He kept the law of the Most High and was taken into covenant with him' (*καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν διαθήκῃ μετ' αὐτοῦ*) (Sir. 44:20).

On the other hand, it must be admitted that in the overwhelming majority of instances ben Sirach speaks of the *diatheke* as the covenant of God in a way which might be translated *decree*.

THE INFLUENCE OF *Diatheke* ON *Berith*

This leads to a consideration of the question whether the word *diatheke* itself may not have moulded the later Jewish understanding of *berith*, at least in some quarters, somewhat away from the original sense. After all, a similar thing happened in the case of *nomos* and *torah*. As C. H. Dodd has shown,¹⁷ *nomos* is very much more narrowly legalistic than *torah*, and this had a profound influence on the later Jewish attitude to the Law.

As regards *diatheke*, in many instances from the apocryphal literature it means God's covenant as it does in the Old Testament — with the same degree of opportunity (or not) to render it *decree* or *dispensation*. However, two significant departures from canonical usage become noticeable.

(a) In 2 Maccabees *syntheke* is always used for compacts between men, while *diatheke* is reserved for God's covenant with Israel.¹⁸ This is a most definite and significant break with Old Testament usage, whether in Hebrew or in the LXX. One then recalls that, by universal consent, 2 Maccabees was originally written in Greek. It would appear that only in translation Greek could *diatheke* naturally represent *covenant* (in so far as it is akin to treaty). Left to itself, the Greek mind would naturally choose a different word.

The hint thus supplied by 2 Maccabees is confirmed by Josephus (or his literary assistants¹⁹). In Josephus's work, while there is no mention of covenant with God, *diatheke* always has its *koine* meaning of 'will' or 'testament', and is often used in the plural: on the other hand, treaties or covenants between men and nations are always termed *syntheke*.²⁰

It would appear that for Greek speakers the LXX use of *diatheke* would effectually mask the elements of 'covenant' contained in the original *berith*. That it in fact led to a distinct misinterpretation is suggested by the second tendency which is discernible.

(b) In the apocryphal literature we begin to get for the first time the use of the plural *diathekai* in reference to God's various dispensations toward men:

'The blameless man . . . by word did he subdue the minister of punishment, by bringing to remembrance oaths and covenants made with the fathers' (Wisdom 18:22).

The plural occurs similarly in 2 Macc. 8:15. It is however only sporadic (e.g. once out of 23 occurrences in ben Sirach—44:18)

¹⁷ Loc. cit.

¹⁸ Burton, *Galatians*, p. 498.

¹⁹ C. K. Barrett, *The New Testament Background*, p. 190.

²⁰ Burton, *Galatians*, p. 499.

until 2 Esdras, where there are at least four occurrences: 2 Esdr. 3:32, 4:23, 7:24, 8:27. This way of speaking is quite out of accord with the Old Testament usage. An interesting exception proves the rule. There appears to be only one example of *diathekai* (plural) in the LXX canonical books—Ezekiel 16:29. But the text is obelized by Hatch and Redpath, and a glance at the Hebrew reveals that the word *berith* is not to be found.

The reason is plain. The idea of 'covenant' between God and His people, if Pedersen's analysis is correct, cannot be put into the plural. It is the meaning *decree* that can take a plural, and it is significant that the earliest instances of this plural are from books whose original language was Greek—the second half of the Wisdom of Solomon and 2 Maccabees. The distinction between the latter and 1 Maccabees is also arresting: 2 Maccabees distinguishes accurately between *diatheke* and *syntheke*: 1 Maccabees (originally in Hebrew) does not.

The natural conclusion is that Diaspora Judaism was legalizing the idea of the covenant, as so much else, thinking of it as an enactment or decree: from which it was a short step to thinking of a series of dispensations, *diathekai*. And one suspects that the actual word *diatheke* contributed to this development. Once it had been used in LXX, those who were not steeped in the Hebrew background read it, and, misunderstanding its Biblical significance, began using it in the plural. If this is correct, the usage of St. Paul is very naturally explained. For Paul, a Diaspora Jew, thinking and writing in Greek, fits exactly into this pattern. C. H. Dodd has said that of the Jewish writings known to us, 2 Esdras probably approximates most closely to the outlook of Paul before his conversion.²¹ We have noted the plural 'covenants' as characteristic of this work, and it may not be accidental that the only places in the New Testament where we have the plural *diathekai* (if we may still count Ephesians as Pauline) are in St. Paul's letters—Rom. 9:4, Gal. 4:24, and Ephes. 2:12. Gal. 4:24 requires special treatment. The other two instances are both more or less conventional summaries of the privileges of Israel and are in no way determinative for the New Testament view of the covenant, new or old. And in fact, despite the view of Bauer to the contrary, these seem to be the only passages which are actually improved by the translation *dispensations* or *decrees*.

A full analysis of the New Testament concept of 'covenant' in the light of this discussion cannot be attempted here.²² But one may at least say that the older Hebraic idea persists alongside the narrower concept of the Greek *diatheke*. The former may well underlie the saying of our Lord over the cup at the Last Supper and the development of the idea of the New Covenant

²¹ *New Testament Studies*, p. 118. 2 Esdras is now (after much debate) thought to have been originally written in Hebrew. But its very late date (A.D. 70 or after) may permit our analysis to stand.

²² E.g. there are one or two passages where the meaning should be *testamentary disposition*. These are a problem for exegesis, not, in the first instance, translation.

in the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is similarly found, not only in such thoroughly Hebraic writings as the Psalms of Solomon (e.g. 9:10, 17:15), but also in the Hebrew writings from the Dead Sea. A random glance at the War Scroll from Qumran produces the following:

‘With our fathers thou didst make a covenant, and thou has confirmed it with their seed throughout the epochs of time. In all the evidence of thy glory among us there hath always been the memory of Thy covenant. Therefore thou hast granted help to the remnant and ever renewed that covenant, and therefore hast thou ever vouchsafed unto us thy deeds of truth and thy wondrous acts of justice. Thou hast made us unto thee an eternal people, and hast cast our lot in the portion of light, that we may evince thy truth; and from of old thou hast charged the Angel of Light to help us . . . We are in the portion of thy truth. We will rejoice in the might of thy hand and be glad in thy salvation, and exult in the strength of thy right hand and in the gift of thy peace.’²³

This passage surely carries much more of the idea of ‘psychic community’ than of a mere decree or ordinance. The same may be said of the Zadokite Document, which frequently speaks of ‘entering the covenant’. We seem to be confirmed in our suspicion that the contexts containing *diatheke* which lend themselves to the translation *decree* were an aberration from the main Hebraic tradition on the part of the Greek speaking diaspora.

THE PROBLEM TODAY

My conclusion is that we must not allow the LXX choice of *diatheke* to obliterate the fundamental idea of compact leading to mutual relationship. While *berith* in its religious use certainly means a relationship founded by God and determined by Him, it nevertheless signifies a wideness and richness of relationship which is lost by the translation *decree* or *ordinance*. Moreover its meaning is based upon the non-religious use of *berith*, signifying a ‘psychic community’ which may be ‘entered’, as well as ‘given’ or ‘established’. We do not therefore want to follow the R.S.V. in using different terms for the ‘secular’ occurrences, if this course can in any way be avoided.

How may this be indicated? For probably in no modern language is there any word to convey the required meaning. English is fortunate in that the word *covenant* has virtually passed out of everyday use. It is therefore available to be filled with whatever meaning the Bible (or the Biblical theologians!) wish to put into it.

On the whole the Indian versions seem to have favoured the translation which indicates *law* or *decree*. *Niyam* in various forms

²³ T. H. Gaster, *The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect*, p. 277.

occurs in many of the versions quoted in Dr. Hooper's Indian Word List, and in Hindi the obsolete *bacha* seems to have carried a similar emphasis, inclining to *promise*. To follow up the case of Hindi as just one example, it may be pointed out that *bacha* would seem to have the negative merit of not being used much in any context: it has possibly established itself as a Christian technical term which (like the English *covenant*) is open to proper interpretation in the light of Bible study.

On the other hand, in the light of our argument, this type of translation would seem to be mistaken. There would seem to be a great deal to be said for retaining the same translation in the 'secular' contexts as for the religious use of *berith*: and the same word would of course have to be employed also for the New Testament *diatheke*. The obvious choice in Hindi, proposed in the Draft Version of St. Mark, would be *sandhi*. This is the natural word for all those instances of covenant or treaty between men and nations where *bacha* must have been quite meaningless. On the other hand, it is possibly in too common use, and too lacking in the idea of unilateral dispensation which is of crucial importance for the Biblical word. In English, similarly, we may accommodate ourselves to the somewhat obsolete *covenant*, whereas we would reject completely the rendering *treaty*. Opinion in Hindi translation circles therefore appears to be moving in favour of a less common word, *vyavasthan*. Connected with *vyavastha* ('law'), yet different from it, this word seems also to include the idea of mutuality. But the question must still be asked, how far could it be used, say, of Solomon's covenant with Hiram?

At the recent Conference of Bible Translators it appeared that certain groups were attempting to coin a word, or form some compound which would suggest both elements. But for each language, no doubt, the problem presents a different face, and at this point the student of the ancient languages must hand over to the modern translator.

PLEASE NOTE

With effect from the April issue of the *Journal*, the Revd. V. C. Samuel, M.A., B.D., S.T.M., Ph.D. (Yale), who is on the staff of Serampore College, will be taking over the work of Literary Editor of the *Indian Journal of Theology*. Editorial correspondence and contributed articles should in future be sent to him.

Eastern Christendom and the Miracles of Jesus

A. C. M. HARGREAVES

It is a comparatively straightforward matter to discover what has been said or written in Western Christendom about the miracles of our Lord. There are many books on the subject.¹ It is not so easy to find a history of Eastern thought in this connection. It is to be hoped that we shall one day get a full study of what has been said or written from the Eastern angle on the miracles. For the time being we have to be content with random observations. A few of the more obvious of the latter are put down here.

THE PRIMARY IMPORTANCE OF MIRACLE IN EASTERN CHRISTIANITY

Dr. A. M. Ramsey has described some of the 'constant characteristics' of Eastern Christianity as follows: — 'the sense of the dominance of the Resurrection; the unity of the Cross and the Resurrection; the vivid realization of the Communion of Saints; the contemplative life as a life to which the heavens are opened; and the insistence that Nature is not left behind but is transformed by Christ in the same new creation wherein the souls of men are drawn into union with God'.² To put it in another way, we may describe Eastern Christianity as containing a two-fold emphasis, on the Transfiguration of Christ and on the Resurrection of Christ. Since these form the background of the understanding of miracles in general and the miracles of Jesus in particular, they need to be examined at some length.

(a) *The Transfiguration*. The world both of human nature and of nature are seen as different and changed since our Lord's Transfiguration. They are seen as already now full of a splendid glory, if men would only realize it, and as full of immense possibilities for the future and for the final transformation of all things. A Russian Orthodox theologian, Sergius Boulgakoff, who died in 1943, wrote that the Transfiguration was a manifestation

¹ E.g. J. S. Lawton, *Miracles and Revelation* (Lutterworth), 1959. Also a standard summary: A. C. Headlam, *The Miracles of the New Testament* (Murray), 1914.

² A. M. Ramsey, *The Glory of God and the Transfiguration of Christ* (Longmans), pp. 135-140.

of glory not only in Christ but also in the world, which is 'transfigured with Him in some of its parts: the garments, the air around, the mountains and the earth'.³ He meant that even Christ's garments were radiant and transfigured, the air around Him was transfigured, the whole mountain-top was transfigured and those who knelt nearby also shared in some way the glory of transfiguration (Luke 9:32-33). The world of nature and human nature shares in some real sense in the New Creation in Christ. Thus the Transfiguration foreshadows the glorious change which awaits the whole Body of Christ at the General Resurrection (1 Cor. 15:53), and the glorious change which awaits the whole of nature (Rom. 8:21) at the restoration of all things. Is it any wonder that, in view of all this, Eastern Christianity should have treasured especially not only the healing miracles of Jesus but also His nature miracles? A miracle such as The Changing of Water into Wine is a transformation of created matter. A miracle such as the Walking of Christ and St. Peter on the Water tells of transformed bodies. The earthly body is so transfigured as to be able to transcend the laws of gravity as we know them and to do entirely what the spirit pleases. So these miracles foreshadow the glory that shall be in the New Creation and that can even now be spiritually realized in the New Creation that is the Body of Christ.

In a world-famous Russian novel *The Brothers Karamazov*, written in the nineteenth century by Dostoevsky, a whole chapter is devoted to the deepest meanings of the miracle at Cana of Galilee. It is introduced in connection with a vision experienced by one of the characters. We should not expect to find this in the middle of a novel: but it shows how deeply such a miracle had become a part of Russian culture and belief, fed on the traditions of Russian Orthodoxy. A modern Western Christian, in discussing the Transfiguration, is likely to discuss the scientific side of it and ask 'Is the story actually true?' or he may put the stress on the individual moral aspect and ask 'Were the disciples morally transformed?' But the Eastern Christian is perhaps content to rejoice in the glory of the Manifestation in Christ and in the cosmic effects of Christ's Redemption.

(b) *The Resurrection*. Dwelling on the joy of Easter and the Resurrection is also a special feature of Eastern Christianity as we know it. Someone once asked Bishop Azariah 'If you were in a village where they had never heard of Christ, what would you preach about?' And he answered without hesitation 'The Resurrection'.⁴ The same emphasis can be found in the traditional Orthodox liturgies. Here the focus of adoration is both the Cross and the Empty Tomb, but it would be fair to say that it is always in the Empty Tomb that the climax of the revelation is felt to be known. It is taken for granted, of course, that if a man is to enter into the meaning of the Resurrection and the new life in Christ

³ S. Boulgakoff, *Of the Incarnate Word* (Paris).

⁴ C. Graham, *Azariah of Dornakal* (S.C.M.).

(‘rising with Christ’), he must also ‘die with Christ’. But it is felt that the process of dying with Christ and rising with Christ will always be out of man’s reach if the presence of the Risen Lord and the victorious grace of His Empty Tomb are not first accepted and received as a free gift. This is the good news of the Resurrection. It is as though the sinner is felt only to be able to experience the Cross truly when he has first received the splendour and strength of the Risen Christ. An Orthodox writer puts it clearly: — ‘It seems that to the Orthodox the Empty Tomb of our Lord is an instrument of salvation, as the Cross is to Western Christians. The Orthodox by no means belittle the saving value of the Cross; but they have an original approach to the Sepulchre (Tomb); they even give the Empty Tomb, as the symbol of the Resurrection, a kind of predominance over the Cross . . . We must not forget that the Apostles were graciously admitted to the joy of the Resurrection without having shared in the immolation of the Lord. They had indeed fled from it. They know later on through their own martyrdom the meaning of the Cross. But it may be affirmed that if they became able to give their lives for Christ, it was because the strength of the Resurrection had first been communicated to them’.⁵

In the light of all this, we can understand why it is that Eastern Christianity has especially treasured all Christ’s miracles of resurrection, His raisings from the dead and His healings of the sick. And why it is that it has been able to plumb the depths of the deepest meanings of these miracles, in a way not found elsewhere. The miracles of Jesus are understood fully only in the light of the supreme miracle of the Resurrection. Those who best understand the meaning of the Resurrection best understand the meaning of the other miracles.

THE PRESENTATION OF THE MIRACLES IN THE EARLY CHURCH PERIOD

In a real sense, the presentation in the East has been much easier than in the West. There is in the East a deeper understanding of the reality of the unseen world. But points of distinctive emphasis and points of difficulty do arise. We may notice two particular difficulties that arose in this period: —

1. The first is the hostile statement made by the Jew Celsus in the third century. He admits that Jesus’ miracles must have taken place, but says that they probably owed their origin to evil demonic powers. He actually suggested that Jesus had learnt demonic arts while in Egypt. This attack was met by Origen, who answers it by insisting on the moral goodness of Jesus and on the miracles as primarily acts of a moral personality rather than just ‘wonders’.⁶ This line of approach leads on to an understanding of the miracles as revealing God’s personal care and

⁵ A Monk of the Eastern Church, *Orthodox Spirituality* (S.P.C.K.), pp. 94-95.

⁶ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, I: 67, 68; II: 48, 53.

love for individuals, and His constant activity in the saving of man.⁷

2. A second difficulty was the tendency among some religious people to interpret the miracles in a Gnostic or Docetic manner. For example, the incident of Christ Walking upon the Water was taken to mean that Christ on earth was all along pure spirit without a true human body, and that the manifestation of this fact is the point of the incident. We have full details of how this interpretation was found later on among Gnostics in the West in the twelfth century in the sect called 'Cathari', who were infected with Manichaeism and dualism. But it is clear that similar Gnostic ideas were to be widely found in the early centuries, especially in the East. In fact, of course, as we have seen, this miracle was most truly to be understood in terms of the Gospel of the Transfiguration, and its significance lies in the transformation of Christ's human Body, which is a prefiguring of Christ's Risen Body, of our risen bodies, and of the new transfigured Creation as a whole. The message of the miracle is not 'See Christ escaping from the body, which has all along been only an appearance!'; but 'See Christ with His Body transformed!'

Out of these two situations certain distinctive points in connection with the presentation of the miracles came to be established:

(a) *The miracles could not be widely used as evidences of Christ's divinity.* Traditionally, Christians in general have presented the miracles in three ways:

- (i) as acts of love, compassion and goodness (i.e. with an emphasis on the *ethical* or moral value of the miracles);
- (ii) as acts of the Kingdom (i.e. with an emphasis on the *eschatological* value of the miracles);
- (iii) as evidences or proofs of Christ's divinity (i.e. with an emphasis on the *evidential* value of the miracles).

On the whole we find that Christians in the Eastern setting have been very cautious about presenting the miracles in the last-mentioned way. This attitude is based on Christ's own attitude and on experience gained in such controversies as the one with Celsus. It will be remembered that our Lord did not do His miracles to prove His own divinity. Although He longed that people should come to believe as a result of His miracles (John 10:38), and said that the miracles were to be secret preliminary signs of who He was for those with faith (Matt. 11:4-5), yet He specifically stated that He would not do miracles for the purpose of convincing people of who He was (Matt. 12:39). Jesus knew well that many of the unbelieving Jews would merely interpret them as proofs of demonic power (Mark 3:22). It is true

⁷ See, for example, St. John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Gospel of St. Matthew* No. 40, in connection with the Sabbath healing of the man with the withered hand. See also Jesus' own words in St. John 5:17, which of course underlie the whole approach.

of course that the early Fathers present the miracles as fulfilment of prophecy,⁸ and that some of them speak of the miracles as proofs of Christ's divinity: e.g. St. Athanasius writes: 'His bodily acts declare Him to be not man only, but the Power and Word of God. To speak authoritatively to evil spirits, for instance, and to drive them out, is not human but divine; and who could see Him curing all the diseases to which mankind is prone, and still deem Him mere man and not also God'.⁹ But on the whole for the first three centuries there was comparatively little stress laid upon the miracles as evidences, except with regard to the great crucial miracle of the Resurrection. Christian apologists in the East through the centuries have presented the miracles mainly as acts of love, compassion and goodness or as acts of the Kingdom.

(b) *The miracles must not be presented as mere temporary divine appearances, but as the beginning and foretaste of the transformation of humanity and the Creation.* Enough has been already said on this point. The miracles must be seen in their full significance as part of the Gospel of the New Creation and of the Resurrection.

THE PRESENTATION OF THE MIRACLES IN THE MODERN AGE IN INDIA

The stories of Jesus' miracles find a sympathetic hearing in India, and the arguments of Celsus are absent. In the nineteenth century one Hindu writer (a follower of Keshub Chunder Sen) wrote most movingly of Christ's miracles, bringing out their significance as acts of love and compassion.¹⁰ Christians do not need to stress overmuch that the miracles are not mere 'thaumaturgic' wonders. Thoughtful Hindus are most conscious that a deeper meaning can be seen in them.

A modern Hindu attitude is well seen in the writings of Mahatma Gandhi: especially in the volume entitled *Christian Missions*,¹¹ which is largely compiled from extracts out of articles in *Harijan*. He makes three points:—

(a) The miracles are just a part of Christ's whole ethical teaching and ministry, and should not be brought forward as evidences. 'Nothing can be more miraculous than the three years of his ministry' (*Harijan*, 17-4-37). He would place great emphasis on the moral authority of Jesus. In fact, he implies, displays of supernatural power are so morally neutral that the miracle-stories in the Gospels in themselves are not especially important. 'From my youth upward I learnt the art of estimating the value of scriptures on the basis of their ethical teaching. Miracles therefore had no interest for me' (*Harijan*, 18-4-36). We can well understand this viewpoint, when we remember that the

⁸ J. B. Mozley, *Eight Lectures on Miracles* (Longmans), pp. 195-215. A good detailed note is given on the patristic view of miracles.

⁹ St. Athanasius, *De Incarnatione*, ch. 18.

¹⁰ P. C. Mazoomdar, *The Oriental Christ* (Paul), ch. 9.

¹¹ M. K. Gandhi, *Christian Missions* (Navajivan Press, Allahabad).

writer was also deeply concerned that Hindus should concentrate on moral values and not only centre their thoughts on the miracles of the gods recorded in the epics.

(b) The miracle-stories of the Gospels should be carefully examined. Some of them, he implies, are exaggerations. 'I do not deny that Jesus had certain psychic powers and he was undoubtedly filled with the love of humanity. But he brought to life not people who were dead, but who were believed to be dead' (*Harijan*, 17-4-37). This viewpoint was also understandable in one who was combating superstitious and magical tendencies in his own religion.

(c) The miracles of Jesus are a shining example of the realization of man's spiritual and psychic powers. They are not to be seen as in any way an intervention in the laws of nature from outside. They are a realization of the innate divine power in man. 'The laws of nature are changeless, unchangeable, and there are no miracles in the sense of infringement or interruption of nature's laws' (*Harijan*, 17-4-37).

We may then turn to the writings of Mr. V. Chakkarai, whose aim was to give a Christian presentation of the miracles, but in terms intelligible to Hindu readers.¹² As a Christian recently converted from Hinduism he was in a good position to do this. Four points are noticeable:—

(a) The moral value of the stories must be stressed. They are acts of love and compassion, which cost Jesus much. 'Jesus performed the miracles . . . not with a view to impress the imagination of His people or as an aid to His teachings, but purely out of love to suffering humanity' (p. 102). It is stated that this fact must give Jesus' miracles a quite different status from the miracles recorded of the lives of many Indian religious figures of the past, where the moral aspect does not enter into the miraculous working.

(b) The miracle-stories of the Gospel are as far as we know reliable accounts. There is no sign of their having been added later to the tradition. They are embedded in the heart of the Gospels. Without them the Gospel story would fall to bits. 'The miracles form an integral part of His history' (p. 102).

(c) The miracles of Jesus are indeed shining examples of the realization of man's powers: that is, of man's powers as made new in Jesus. The miracles are not to be seen as an intervention into the 'natural' from the 'supernatural': 'all reality is one . . . This is the first presupposition of Indian philosophy' (pp. 95-96). Christ did His miracles as man. In them we see the new humanity. 'His humanity . . . is as transcendent and mysterious as His divinity' (p. 31). 'The miracles of Jesus point to Him as the supreme Norm, constituting the highest region or *loka* of God' (p. 104). 'In His presence we stand before the moral miracle of humanity, the true man in whom, as, in looking into a mirror, we

¹² V. Chakkarai, *Jesus the Avatar* (C.L.S.), ch. 7.

see our own deformities, and yet realize what is the inner meaning of our own strivings after a holy and perfect life' (p. 74). And He told His disciples that in Him they too could do miracles, even greater than His (John 14: 12). 'He is the true man, the ideal man, or the man in all men . . . Our humanity receives an immeasurable breadth in view of the humanity of Jesus' (p. 31).

(d) The miracles were acts of the Kingdom. 'They were part of the organic laws of the Reign of God' . . . 'Jesus raised the miracles from the region of divine accidents and thaumaturgic wonders to the normal sphere of the Kingdom of God' (pp. 103-104).

A comparison of these two sets of comments is instructive. We notice a marked similarity in many ways. In both, we see :

- (i) A great reluctance to stress the evidential value of the miracles.
- (ii) An immanentist approach to the theology of miracle. The miraculous power comes from within humanity : Christ did His miracles from within humanity.

Any Eastern concept of miracle is likely always to bring out these two valuable points.

But we may notice three distinctive points in Chakkarai's presentation and the implications of them : —

(a) His phrase about the costing love lying behind Jesus' miracles suggests that the miracles in their deepest meaning are to be seen as revealing to us the personal, constant, loving activity of God. The miracles, as it were, point us on to a Gospel of a Personal, Loving God. This is the final logical conclusion of an understanding of the moral value of the miracles.

(b) His phrases about Jesus' perfect and as it were unique humanity suggest that the miracles are to be seen as revealing an immense, unique transformation of nature and humanity through Jesus Christ. The miracles point us on to a Gospel of Transfiguration and Resurrection through Christ. This is immanentism, but it is Christocentric immanentism.

(c) His mention of the connection of the miracles with the Kingdom suggests that the miracles are to be seen as a revealing of and a part of the eschatological purposes of God. They are important decisive events (as St. Mark in particular brings out in his Gospel) and constitute the preliminary contests of Christ in His battle against the demonic powers of the universe. The miracles point us on to a teleological Gospel of a Blessed End to which God is bringing all His Creation.

These points are no more than hinted at by Chakkarai. He is concerned to express himself in Sanskritic terms, and he does not use some of the phrases just employed. But the points are surely implicit in what he writes and he does in fact suggest to us a number of distinctive meanings which must ultimately emerge in the deepest understanding of the miracles.

There is a likelihood that because of its own theological background, Hinduism may find it hard to accept these deepest implications of the miracle-stories. In the first place, in spite of the more personalistic concepts found in the Bhakti movement, the prevailing Hindu understanding of God is to be found in monistic, pantheistic or even impersonal terms.¹³ This may make it extremely difficult for there to be seen in the miracles any message of a truly personal, loving God. Or again, Hinduism, because of its extreme immanentism, may find it hard to accept any idea of Christ's unique place in humanity, as the One in whom all humanity is raised and transfigured. If Father Zacharias is correct, Hinduism speaks of the 'causal' presence or indwelling of God among men, but does not allow a supernatural or 'vital' presence.¹⁴ Again, the absence in Hinduism of any teleological concept comparable to the coming of the Kingdom of God (as indeed the absence of any concept of a purposive Creation at the beginning of things) may make it wellnigh impossible for a Hindu to arrive at the eschatological interpretation of the miracles which has been suggested above.¹⁵

The dialogue between Hindus and Christians must deal first, not with the question of Jesus' miracles as an isolated topic, but with the basic underlying concepts of Creation and the End, and with the doctrine of man and the nature of the Divine Indwelling.

The Christian in his presentation must avoid a facile evidential presentation. He must know that if this is his method, others will reply: 'That means nothing to me: is it not recorded in the Bhagavata-purana that Sri Krishna proved his divine origin by lifting up the mountain-range Govardhana on his finger, to shelter the herdsmen's wives from the wrath of Indra? Did he not do equally wonderful or more wonderful things than Jesus?' Not only that. The Christian must also bring out the deepest moral and eschatological implications of the miracles.

Narayan Waman Tilak once wrote an account of his conversion, and in the course of it declared how hard he had found it at first to believe in the miracles of Jesus.¹⁶ He had been attracted by the Sermon on the Mount: he had been deeply perplexed by the miracles. Many of his old friends, he said, had gathered round him after his conversion and laughed at his believing in the miracles. 'Any seeker after truth', he wrote, 'who tries to assess the worth of the Bible in the strength of his own deficient judgement, finds the miracles of Christ as related in the New Testament lying in his path like mountains. That seeker will have an acquaintance with the Son of Man. He is not

¹³ P. D. Devanandan, *Living Hinduism* (C.I.S.R.S.), p. 28.

¹⁴ Fr. Zacharias, *Christianity and Indian Mentality* (Alwaye Seminary), p. 14.

¹⁵ A. G. Hogg, *The Christian Message to the Hindu* (S.C.M.), ch. 4, p. 57.

¹⁶ Lakshminibai Tilak, *I Follow After* (Oxford).

yet worthy to understand the Son of God. The Crucified he knows, but to comprehend the Risen Lord is beyond him'. We do not know exactly why Tilak found it hard to accept the miracles. Perhaps he just humbly means that, like the rest of us, he was lost for words in front of the mystery of Christ's miracles. But his account of his difficulty may at least remind us that many a Hindu enquirer, as many a Christian disciple, finds the miracles 'difficult'. It may remind us that there is an abiding task of communicating, as far as it is given us to do so, the message of the Risen Lord. Tilak concludes with a moving passage: 'The best way to bring conviction to such a seeker' (implying that this was how he himself found conviction) 'is to pray with him. Through the great golden door of prayer he should repeatedly be brought into the presence of the Father, and in his heart there should be awakened true love of the merciful Father of this world. In this way he will come to know the Father, and his doubts about the miracles will be removed naturally. I have always thought that God Himself resolves such difficult questions for the true seeker.'

CONCLUSION

Eastern Christendom has inherited a very deep understanding of the reality of the unseen world. In some measure this is a common heritage of all oriental spirituality, Christian and non-Christian. The contribution of this spiritual heritage is badly needed in a world which is in danger of interpreting itself in purely materialistic terms. But it has been necessary, in what has been said above, to examine certain differences within the Eastern setting, between the Christian and non-Christian understanding of spirituality and of miracle. The presentation of the miracles of Jesus in Eastern Christendom is always something distinctively Christian, and is firmly based on the Christian doctrines of the Resurrection, the Transfiguration, the Kingdom of God, and the Love of God. It will be obvious that before the message of the miracles can be effectively preached, these underlying doctrines must be communicated. The Christian must believe that it is within the framework of these great cardinal Christian doctrines and beliefs that the true significance of miracle in general and the miracles of Jesus in particular is to be found and to be proclaimed.

Man is not an immortal soul in a mortal body. Man is body and soul, a total person, in an immortal relationship to God. Man is made in God's image. This relationship is immortal. God does not allow His holy ones to see corruption.

D. T. NILES: Preaching the Gospel
of the Resurrection.

Book Reviews

The Christian Faith and Non-Christian Religions: by A. C. Bouquet, D.D.; James Nisbet & Co., Ltd., London, 1958. Pp. 430. Price 25s.

This is a massive volume of weighty scholarship based on the author's extensive reading and research in the field of the comparative study of religion. Dr. Bouquet's reputation as an accepted authority in this field, at least in the English-speaking world, is well known. Serious students will find in this volume provocative material for thought. For, in contrast to his previous writings, Dr. Bouquet here approaches the subject not in a spirit of academic objectivity but as a Christian minister who is convinced both of the validity of the Christian affirmations and of the Christian concern for evangelism.

But he makes it clear, at the same time, that his approach is different from that of contemporary Continental theologians. In fact, right through the book he is anxious to stress that there is a position in the Christian approach to non-Christian faiths which is traditionally characteristic of the Catholic-minded thinkers in the Church of England, and that it should be taken into account in evangelism today.

'At the end of a long and full life-time,' states the author in his Introduction, 'I still believe more than ever that it (Christianity) is the true and best of all faiths, rich in marvellous recuperative powers and in the capacity for objective self-criticism. I see it still developing and I want it to succeed . . . At the same time, while I am sure that a common world-faith is necessary and that the evidence is in favour of that world-faith being some form of Christianity, I do not think, taken as a whole, Christianity as it stands, is quite fit to fulfil that function' (p. 15).

One would have expected on the strength of the author's statement quoted above that his primary interest is in the *future* of the faith. On the contrary, the author devotes almost one half of the book to a review of the growth and development of religion in general, and of the rise and expansion of Christianity in particular. This is because of Dr. Bouquet's contention that 'It is certainly part of Christian belief that truth is a goal as well as an inheritance, and that the Spirit of the Living Master will according to His promise guide us into all truth, and even show us things to come. But it is also the confident hope of Christian believers that these things to come will not detract from the glory of Christ, since, if as the Word of God He is already reigning over universal

nature, future discoveries can only make explicit what has already been there implicitly' (p. 17).

The last sentence in this quotation from Dr. Bouquet sums up the main thesis of the book. For what it is designed to prove is that the central doctrine of the Logos, Jesus Christ as the Word of God, furnishes the support to the Christian claim that while God has not left himself without witnesses in other religions, it is in Christianity that the fulness of His revelation is made manifest. The outlook forecast for the future is therefore summed up in a single phrase: 'Not a new religion but a newly expressed and renewed Christianity' (p. 118). In the rise of Christianity, we see not the development of a new abstract system, but the emergence of a Person Who dominates and goes beyond all systems, showing men the meaning and purpose of life and the supreme concern of God for the redemption of His creation.

The crux of the issue in regard to the relation of Christianity with other religions, as Dr. Bouquet sees it from the standpoint of the Christian, is to uphold the uniqueness of the revelation in Jesus Christ, without giving room to the misunderstanding that God is neither concerned in nor accessible to adherents of other religions. Moreover, the current mood would seem to be to search for common factors in all religions so that a world-faith could be compounded out of all that is best in every religion, an amalgam which could be acceptable to all people. This would mean that Christianity should be willing to establish friendly relations with other faiths and to permit them increasingly to appropriate many Christian doctrines and practices. But, at the same time, Christianity should put forth every effort to safeguard its identity as a distinctive religion. Since Kraemer appeared on the scene however, missionary-minded Christians have been unwilling freely to concede that God has also made himself known in other religions, and that the revelation in Jesus Christ is therefore to be regarded in every way *sui generis* and totally discontinuous with other religions. In fact, in certain Christian circles, the idea is current that all religions are only human efforts to find their way to God, while in Christianity alone God has disclosed his very self to man in Jesus Christ. Bouquet's obvious intention is to protest against this tendency in contemporary missionary thinking. He pleads that a renewed emphasis on the New Testament doctrine of the Logos would open the way for better understanding of the issues involved, and provide a more acceptable approach to non-Christian faiths.

The doctrine of the Logos was obviously developed in New Testament times to relate the person and work of Jesus Christ to the larger world of Mediterranean thought. It was adopted to indicate how the Incarnate Word stood in relation to other religious teachers. Dr. Bouquet argues that it is inconceivable that the writer of the Fourth Gospel could have used a currently technical term, *logos*, in a private sense which would be unintelligible to his readers. 'However much he may wish to lead them to an acceptance of Jesus as the Supreme Incarnation of the

Logos, and to demonstrate to them that, as St. Paul would have said, "In him dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily", he cannot have meant them to understand by the word Logos anything other than what the Hellenistic world of his day had come to mean by it' (p. 149). Therefore Christians today should not hesitate to regard themselves as its inheritors, so that they are both entitled, and are indeed bound, to make use of its implications in dealing with the great systems of faith which the world has produced.

In reading the Johannine prologue, Dr. Bouquet warns us that we beware, however, of identifying the *relatedness* of the various great religious systems with the *equality* of all religions. The Christian use of the concept of the Logos certainly involved the former, but it is an improper use of it to try along the lines of it to establish the latter. The fact is that those who first used it had no doubt at all that what had captured them was destined to supersede all other forms of religious belief and practice with which they were surrounded. Can the modern Christian unequivocally subscribe to that? The moment we talk about 'super-session' in any form do we not court opposition and lose hearing?

While one finds the thesis of Bouquet appealing to the modern temper of many Christians, it strikes the critical reader that there is in reality no fundamental difference between the position advocated by Bouquet and that of Kraemer. This is clear from statements such as the following, the one in regard to the 'discontinuity' of the revelation in Jesus Christ, and the other with reference to the place of the Bible among other scriptures. 'The central Christian proclamation is that this continuous process has been succeeded in the fulness of time by a single discontinuous action in which the same Logos is involved; and, although this special initiative involved imparting to man a knowledge of God which he had never before had, that initiative also had its redemptive aspect' (p. 152). Or again, 'In the Bible the whole emphasis is upon a linear process proceeding from the mind of the Creator of the Universe and culminating in the once-for-all appearance of a great and genuinely historical figure . . . for the benefit of the entire population of the planet. The purpose of the Bible is for this reason quite distinct from that of any other corpus of sacred literature. Like any other corpus it is meant to be used to foster, extend, and renew a specific religious experience, and to this extent it falls into a class, that of the Sacred Book. But in so far as the experience with which it is concerned claims to be of unique cosmic significance, and to be neither local nor repeatable, it stands outside the general category of "Sacred Book", and remains in spite of all its obviously human elements in a class by itself' (p. 190).

The difficulty in the theories of both that of Bouquet and Kraemer is that they have been formulated without sufficient actual experience of the evangelistic situation in non-Christian lands today. There is obviously a greater willingness on the part of Bouquet to reckon with the living character of non-Christian

faiths and the profound changes which have overtaken the *inner* life and structure of non-Christian systems of religious thought. Also Bouquet shows greater readiness to admit that empirical Christianity itself is in a real sense incomplete and that it stands in desperate need of constant renewal. It is at this point that one fails to see how Bouquet develops the Logos doctrine. In one place he does say that '*Pneuma* can work in a diversity of ways, some of them outside the *Soma Christou* ; and in this case we are not far from the same idea in Justin Martyr, who seems in his own way to express the same sentiments as Paul when the latter writes (1 Corinthians 12:5-6): "There are diversities of ministrations but the same Lord ; and there are diversities of workings, but the same God Who worketh all things in all"' The real question is: In what way is the Logos now manifestly at work within organized Christianity, making of it the world-faith it is intended to be? And how are non-Christian religions in fact being regenerated so that they may be claimed to be eventually identified with this final Christianity of the future? Bouquet does not help us very much in any serious attempt to answer these questions.

What he does have to say in regard to the second question does not sound very convincing. Much of what Bouquet writes about the renascent faiths of contemporary Asia and Africa is obviously biased. What is more, it does not logically record with his main thesis that the *Logos* is still at work in non-Christian religions as well. Why then should we argue that the Logos makes its impact felt on other faiths through contemporary Christianity, and, what is more, keep insisting that Christian elements now being so freely incorporated into non-Christian religious thought and ethics are alien factors which have been somewhat artificially tacked on to them? Bouquet himself states:

'That there are to be found nobler elements in some of the Asian and African religions is not to be doubted ; but one is sometimes tempted to wonder whether their rediscovery has not been largely due to the provocation arising from their juxtaposition with Christianity. Without that juxtaposition spurring their adherents to look again at their best treasures, might not the latter have remained buried for ever?' Or again, 'If it is possible without prejudice to regard the social effect of non-Christian faiths in comparison with those of Christianity, it may be confidently said that the theological basis of the latter certainly produced the nobler results in action, and that where such results are now being aimed at outside the Christian movement, as for example in the Ramakrishna mission of Hinduism, they proceed not as the logical outcome of the latter, but as an artificial grafting from Christianity on to Hinduism of something which does not properly belong to the latter' (p. 136).

On the other hand, Bouquet maintains that the necessity of making the Christian gospel relevant to modern man inheres in the very nature of the Christian faith. So much so he would seem to maintain that there is a logical and, as it were, natural unfolding of the Christian claims as they confront the changing scene

of contemporary history. Is it not true that the modern concepts of 'community' and 'personality', for instance, have influenced the formulations of Christian theology also? In an impassioned chapter on the challenge of Marxism, Bouquet makes a vigorous plea for the impact upon society of the real Christianity of Christ as distinct from a muffled or diluted Christianity, but he does not sufficiently recognize that the very social order he challenges, and the social justice he advocates, demand of Christianity reaffirmations of faith which cannot be merely natural outgrowth out of traditional dogma.

A very full chapter on what Bouquet entitles Theological Revaluation is itself an attempt to show how over the past century and a half there has been within Protestant Christian tradition repeated efforts to restate Christian affirmations. But the survey is limited to the issue of *relationship* with other faiths, when in reality the basic motive is to make the Christian faith meaningful and *relevant* to each generation. This chapter is, however, a very valuable section of the whole book, but the value consists not in what Bouquet has to say himself as in the excellent reviews he has given of a number of books written by distinguished theologians, especially those from Britain, bearing on this theme. One may add, in this connection, that the weakness and strength of the entire book is in that it is designed, page upon page, out of paraphrased summaries of innumerable volumes which have appeared in print in the last century and a half. So much so the central thesis which Bouquet seeks to establish may be said to be obscured. And Bouquet's own observations tend to become innocuous and tame, as when he sums up his laborious reviews of the many volumes he summarizes in his chapter on Theological Evaluation. 'Hence this internal evaluation should be gladly embraced and studied, and such study ought not to be fettered by the misuse of authority. It is quite clear that mistakes have been made and probably will be made during the course of it, partly through the tendency of some scholars to ignore the evidence which may be gained through the study of Christian corporate experience and tradition as well as from individual experience. But freedom of thought must mean freedom to proceed by trial and error; and far too much may be made of the value of limiting the operations of the mind by the authority of an external governing body' (p. 339).

The concluding section of the book is very disappointing, especially after all the massive display of scholarship marshalled in long succession through the many pages of the volume. Here Bouquet attempts to enumerate 'the values in non-Christian faiths that ought to be preserved and which would not be a good thing to destroy'. And all that he can think of is 'sense of worshipfulness', 'self-sacrificing spirituality', 'reverence for life' in Hinduism, for instance! It looks as though the author becomes somewhat conscious of his limitations as he reaches the end of the book. And well he may. For where he has ventured to strike out on his own he has more often than not betrayed ignorance. In

his chapter on Indigenization he is on safe grounds summarizing the conclusions of Bishop Lucas of Masasi (Central Africa) from the chapter which the Bishop contributed to *Essays Catholic and Missionary* published as early as 1928. But he makes an egregious blunder when he hazards a statement such as this: 'Thus in India the sign of marriage is a wreath of flowers, and it is clear that although the ring is bound to be introduced, this should not mean the disuse of the wreath. Again, Hindu married women have always put on their foreheads the painted red dot or *tilaka*, as the sign that they are married. There seems no reason why Christian women should be expected to renounce the use of the *tilaka*, and I have noticed that a great many of them still put it on'. And Bouquet adds in a footnote, 'I am told that in many cases the *tilaka* on girls has now nothing to do with marriage, but is just "a lucky dot"'. Its continuance in this case seems more doubtful' (p. 220).

The value of the book is nonetheless not to be miscalculated by reason of some of these mistakes in fact and its lack of courage in boldly substantiating a thesis which is well worth establishing, especially at a time when there is so much rethinking about the Theology of Missions. The scholarly material that has been gathered from various sources makes this a helpful source-book. But to serve that purpose there should be added an index, which is a serious omission to the publication as it stands.

P. D. DEVANANDAN

*Christian Institute for the Study of
Religion and Society, Bangalore*

*Ideas of Revelation : An Historical Study, A.D. 1700 to 1860 : by
H. D. McDonald (London, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1959).
Price 30s.*

A subject of great interest at the present time, revelation had attracted the attention of men in the past, and Dr. McDonald's work is an able presentation of the various views put forward by a large number of scholars and writers who flourished during the years between A.D. 1700 and 1860. The author brings out the fact that during this period many theories on revelation were propounded by men of varying shades of opinion. The work has thus provided a valuable background study of the subject.

Though revelation is central to the Christian faith, it was only after the Reformation that the need for clarifying its meaning came to be felt. With the emphasis of the reformers on personal salvation, attention was drawn to the question of the divine revelation.

Coming to the period under discussion, Dr. McDonald shows that all the thinkers and writers who took up a treatment of the subject were influenced by one or the other of two points of view. On the one hand, there was, what the author calls, the

objective viewpoint ; and on the other, the subjective. In the two strands of rationalism and intuitionism discernible in Descartes, the philosopher, both these emphases could find support. Deists of the eighteenth century adopted rationalism and went to the extent of denying any special message of God to man 'beyond those indications of Himself set upon the foundation of creation'. Intuitionism was made the foundation of their teaching by George Fox and his Quaker followers. Writers from the side of Christian orthodoxy opposed both these positions. However, in answering the deistic challenge, they were as much rationalists as their opponents. Having accepted divine transcendence and natural religion, they added revelation as a superstructure. As for intuitionism, Christian orthodoxy ruled it out as 'enthusiasm'. But this was done either by regarding revelation as a body of doctrines or by taking the Bible as an infallible book constituting it.

Dr. McDonald rightly thinks that all the theories propounded by subsequent generations may be grouped either with objectivism or with subjectivism. He refers to many leading men of the period and summarizes their ideas on revelation. According to him, apologists for Christian orthodoxy did not really answer the problem raised by deists. It was men who accepted the intuitionist premise who showed the weakness of deism. But they were anti-rationalists, ready to dispense with the authority of the Bible.

In the penultimate chapter of Dr. McDonald's work he deals with John Wesley's teaching on revelation. The great evangelist accepted the objective emphasis in his doctrine of the Bible and evaluation of reason. The Bible was for him the Word of God, infallible and absolutely authoritative for the Christian, and reason a gift of God not to be despised. At the same time, Wesley also insisted on the work of the Holy Spirit in every believer and thereby conserved the principle of subjectivism.

The plea made by Dr. McDonald is for a unification of objectivism and subjectivism. Thus in the last chapter he points out that the Barthian school in our times adopts objectivism through the Kierkegaardian existentialism but does not take subjectivism seriously. Revelation, insists Dr. McDonald, is both mediate and immediate. But by conceiving of it in propositional terms, Neo-Thomism recognizes only its mediate character. By emphasizing that revelation consists in God's activity, it is on its immediate character that the Barthian school and a good deal of Protestant thinking put their stress. Both these, says Dr. McDonald, contain truth and should be unified in an adequate interpretation of the Christian revelation, which should also recognize the authority of the Scriptures as well as the work of the Holy Spirit. And finally, Dr. McDonald points out that the dichotomy drawn in some quarters between the Word of God as the Person of Jesus Christ and the Words of God as the Bible needs to be reconciled. The Christian revelation is in Christ. 'It is not the Jesus of History or the Christ of Faith'. Neither is it 'the Christ of subjective experience, nor the Christ of personal

encounter, nor the Christ of Church declaration'. All these are the same as the Christ set forth in Scripture. A Christian interpretation of revelation should safeguard these principles.

An historical survey, Dr. McDonald's work brings out many ideas of revelation that have been held by men in the past and he shows the weakness of each of them. The author calls for the development of a doctrine of revelation more broad-based and comprehensive than any that has so far been put forward. Dr. McDonald does not attempt to work it out, but he indicates the main emphases which he would like to see included in it. By demanding a unification of all principles of value conserved in the past, he expresses an ecumenical outlook which deserves special commendation.

Written in a clear style and presenting the ideas lucidly, the work of Dr. McDonald should be welcomed by all students of theology.

Serampore College,
Serampore

V. C. SAMUEL

Asking the Right Questions (Church and Ministry): by Bishop F. R. Barry (Hodder and Stoughton). Price 12s. 6d.

The weighty utterances contained in this very important and relevant book can, not unjustifiably, be characterized as prophetic. The learned and discerning author, utilizing the richness of his pastoral experiences as a Father-in-God of God's people, makes a masterful study of the present-day state of the Church, of its needs, its strategies in the context of the contemporary world and of its nature and mission at all times by asking incisive, revealing and 'right' questions. He expresses his enquiries in forceful, prophetic and challenging pronouncements. With characteristic humility he claims only to ask a few of these questions, the answers to which, he says, he does not pretend to know. The diligent reader, however, is sure to obtain a great deal of insight into the answers to the questions asked in the manner in which they are discussed. His enquiries tell forth or proclaim the situation in the Church to the world. He is inspired to say what he is saying by a deep sense of urgency felt deep down in his very being. This book is not his isolated study; it is a sequel, among others, to a recent publication in preparation for the Lambeth Conference of 1958 on Ministries and Manpower. This fact goes to show the sustained nature of his concern for this subject, as well as his keen desire to serve his Lord and the Church to the best of his ability. The aim and purpose of the book is very clearly stated by the author in the opening sentences of his Preface to it, 'This book rests on the conviction that the *Al* question before the Church today concerns the supply and training of the ministry. Most of the other questions run back to that. Once get the ministry right and nearly everything else will get itself right.

We cannot hope for a Christian advance till we have learnt how to provide a Ministry sufficient both in numbers and quality.' It is also undeniable that '—both in home and overseas churches, Bishops and others are urgently concerned with staffing the Church today and tomorrow.'

God being a God of action His kingdom goes on advancing. The Church goes on progressing. This advance of the Church depends upon the provision of a ministry sufficient both in numbers and quality. As this ministry has to function in the Church the first subject of enquiry concerns the nature and purpose of the Church itself in the contemporary world situation. This is the question propounded in the first chapter. In order to find an answer to the question what sort of ministry it is that is needed for the advancement of the Church and for what should the ministry be trained, we have to ask, what the ministry is for, and what the Church is for.

We, however, cannot think about the Church in abstraction or isolation from the world. The place in which it is called upon to discharge its mission is the actual situation as it is at any given moment in history. What, then, is this world situation in which the Church has to function today? Three questions arise in this connection: (1) How has the much smaller and tidier world of the past centuries given place to one from which God has become conspicuous by His absence. What shall we say about this religionless world in which the Church lives today? (2) What is the place of the past conception of a parish in the face of the fact that everywhere the traditional pattern of community is being disintegrated and disrupted? (3) How is the rise of twentieth century technology altering the characters of men?

Similarly and for the same purpose, in the second chapter the author examines the Church of England next, the national Church of the English people. He points out many blessings brought to the people of England by this Church and also to countries overseas, and describes the subtle change and outlook in emphasis which has affected the Church in recent years. So with a view to finding out if any light could be thrown on the ministry of the future he traces the course of the development of thought forms, of various controversies, of advances and failures in a manner which is interesting even to non-Englishmen. His finding is that doors are opening. There are widening opportunities, growing demands for service and leadership: for example, a new apostolate to 'Teddy Boys' is coming within reach of many parishes. Where is the ministry to cope with that? The author suggests that certain guide posts are visible, as for example, a fuller exploration of lay qualities in the Church is needed.

How the Church has to meet the present situation and how that depends, under God, on the strength and quality of its ordained ministers is considered very ably in the third chapter. Is the ministry at present adequate in quality and in numbers? What is the situation and the context in which this ministry has

to function ? What is the problem arising from an industrialized society ? What is the true relation between the whole Church and the ministry ? The whole Church is in the world to bear witness to the nature and destiny of man as child of God and heir of eternal life, and yet there should be men enough withdrawn from preoccupation with the means of living to testify to the ends of life itself and directly vowed to the service of religion. This chapter is particularly stimulating. The staffing of a Diocese is the headache of any Bishop. This chapter contains quite a few suggestions with regard to this. Thus 'to find enough men and good enough men for the whole Ministry of the word and sacraments is the first condition of any forward movement, and that means a resolute policy of recruitment.' The Chapter contains thought-provoking sections on various subjects :—

Welfare State : When the State is at present undertaking welfare activities, such as education and medical work in the land, what is the relevancy of a Church and its ministry to engage in them ?

The Ministry of Women : 'If more women were given more responsibility we should hear much less than we do now about the wrong kind of feminine influence or of those domineering ladies who are always quoted by the clergy as arguments against the "monstrous regiment"'. Do we not need to at least transform this 'monstrous regiment' into a 'noble army' ?

The Ministry in the New Testament : What evidences do we find in the New Testament of the three-fold ministry of Bishop, Priest and Deacon ? Bishop Barry's deductions are fairly clear.

Clergy and Laity : Clericalism is clearly explained and the place of the Laity in the ministry of the Church is emphasized with a refreshing amount of vigour.

Supplementary Priests : The suggestion to have such is more theological than administrative. This subject is relevant to the Church in India. The C.I.P.B.C. has appointed a committee to deal with the question.

Pastures New : The parish priest of the future is delineated imaginatively.

The fourth chapter headed 'Theological Education' may be termed as epoch-making without much exaggeration. The theme of it is 'If the ministry is to command respect (and on no other grounds will it get good recruits) and to meet the increasingly exigent demands which a complicated world makes upon it, there must be a resolute determination both to raise the standards and to improve the training.' 'The clergy must meet a new situation and may have to be prepared for it by new methods'. Many practical aspects of this problem have been brought to light here, such as: Do we need colleges to teach theology or colleges for vocational preparation ? Can the Church tolerate a situation in which the parson is less well equipped educationally than the school master ? Should we consider graduate standard as normal ? What does a theological study of the Bible involve ? What

should be the period of training? What about post-ordination training? Two points are made about missionary areas: (1) A plea is made for free and frequent interchange of clergy between the Anglican provinces. (2) Must the Christ who came from the Middle East always be clothed in European dress?

The last chapter 'Christian Agnosticism' is not as frightening as its title sounds. The author apologetically says that some passages in it are drawn from College and University sermons but what he says is far from being irrelevant. The theological standpoint indicated in it is in line with the whole theme of the book. The present is an age when the scientific revolution has hit us with full cyclonic force. Man today is more than ever before aware of himself as standing over against nature, detached from it as self-conscious spirit. In such a world-view life has no meaning and God is no longer news. That is the climate and that the environment in which the Church must preach the gospel and Christian thought make good its claim. How to do this? This has to be done neither by trying to keep religion in a box, insulated from the intellectual atmosphere, nor by separating Christian thought from the laboratory or the lecture room. Christianity is a plant that thrives best in a climate of free critical enquiry. No Church that knows its business will try to discourage freedom of speculation. Even so the Church must speak and teach with authority, but that does not mean claiming to know everything. We can know nothing about God save what he himself deigns to reveal. Any revelation of God to man must be a revelation to human minds and has therefore to be received and interpreted by fallible and imperfect instruments. The author is not saying that there is no authority or that there is no trustworthy authority, only that neither Bible nor Church nor any other authority is inerrant. 'The Christian religion does not want to save people from the trouble of thinking for themselves. It stands for freedom under responsibility. In a faithless and sceptical generation he will not drift with "every blast of doctrine" nor hug illusory harbours of escapism. But firmly anchored sceptical generation he will not drift with 'every blast of doctrine' nor hug illusory harbours of escapism. But firmly anchored in faith and trust towards God, and believing all the time what he questions, he will have the courage to question what he believes. He will be a Christian Agnostic.' Nevertheless, the author argues, there is the ultimate ground of Christian certainty. Christian certainty rests upon commitment, that is, the total decision of the whole man to trust himself to Christ as Lord and Master. All this has an important bearing on the recruitment and training of the minister of the future and the present.

I sincerely thank God for this important book. May many people enjoy it and profit by it as I most certainly have done and may many blessings descend from God on the Ministry of the

Church and through it for the greater glory and the advancement of His Kingdom.

Bishop's Lodge,
Ranchi

DILBAR CHOTA NAGPUR

SHORTER BOOK NOTICES

Freedom from Fear by Gordon Powell (Hodder and Stoughton).
7s. 6d.

In this book, with the sub-title, *The Christian Answer to Guilt*, the author, a popular preacher and writer, deals with the problems of fear and guilt that baffle many. In dealing with these two problems the author explains how the Christian Faith helps us to overcome these in Christ.

When Iron Gates Yield by Geoffrey T. Bull (Hodder and Stoughton). 3s. 6d.

This is an account of the author's experience as a missionary (British) in Tibet and afterwards during his imprisonment for 38 months in China. Apart from being a great witness to the living Christian Faith it is also a literary document of travel and experience.

And Four to Grow On by Frances Palmer (Hodder and Stoughton). 15s.

Bartje, My Son by Nel Van Houten (Hodder and Stoughton).
10s. 6d.

Both these books are on bringing up handicapped children. The former is about four adopted children that a young couple bring up, and the latter is an account of bringing up a mentally handicapped child. Both books introduce us to the world of children and will help us to realize that *all* children help the grown-ups to understand the mystery and meaning of life.

B. M.

Editorial Note

The Revd. A. C. M. Hargreaves, our most able and energetic literary editor, we very much regret to record, has relinquished his office on being appointed as Asia Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, London. He took over as literary editor from Canon Peter May who was largely responsible for giving a new lease of life for the journal. Now after three years of hard work Mr. Hargreaves has further strengthened the journal and given it greater stability. We are most grateful to him for this his great contribution to the Indian Church. We wish him a long period of useful work for the Church in Asia and we are sure that his new sphere of labour will keep him in closer touch with the journal and that from time to time we will have the benefit of his insight and reflections on theology as it develops in the Asian countries.

We extend a hearty welcome to the Revd. Father V. C. Samuel who has taken over the responsibility of literary editor of the journal. Father Samuel brings to his task wide experience and a great awareness of living theology in other religions in India today.

Missionary zeal does not grow out of intellectual beliefs, nor out of theological arguments, but out of love. If I do not love a person I am not moved to help him by proofs that he is in need ; if I do love him I wait for no proof of special need to urge me to help him. Knowledge of Christ is so rich a treasure that the spirit of love must necessarily desire to impart it. The mere assurance that others have it not is sufficient proof of their need. This spirit of love throws aside intellectual arguments that they can do very well without it.

ROLAND ALLEN.

The Meaning of Evangelism*

D. WEBSTER

All of us are concerned that the Church should grow and Christianity spread. In many parts of the world, however, the Church's growth seems to have halted and its expansion either slowed down or ceased altogether. It is not uncommon for a church, instead of being concerned with extension, to be interested only in survival from one generation to the next. This is a dynastic outlook with the emphasis on succession and continuity rather than on mission and growth. Its tendency is to be inward-looking and self-absorbed. We have to admit that it characterizes much of our church life today.

In addition to this malaise three other factors form the context of our Christian witness, which taken together indicate that the Church is faced with a greater crisis than any it has met since the rise of Islam. First, there are new dynamic movements claiming and winning the total allegiance of men, often to a level of commitment seldom found among Christians in the Church itself. These movements are not neutral: they are definitely opposed to Christianity. The most obvious are communism, the resurgent religions of the East, and the neopaganism sometimes to be found in Africa as exemplified by Mau Mau. Secondly, there is the possibility that the Church in many countries may be entering a period of hostility on the part of the State, if not open persecution. In some, though not all, Muslim countries this is already the case, as also in the communist countries of Eastern Europe and most of all in China. We cannot rely on for ever being able to hold on to great Christian institutions, such as church schools and colleges. The days of dependence on such institutions are almost certainly numbered. The Church may soon find itself with evangelism as its only activity. Thirdly, the general climate of the modern age is materialistic and irreligious. Science and technology have shaped and are still shaping men's thinking in all progressive countries, not only in the West but also in Japan, for example, and in varying degrees elsewhere. All these things make the subject of evangelism a particularly urgent one. But what is evangelism? How are we to understand its meaning today?

* The contents of this article were delivered as lectures at Bishop's College, Calcutta, during the author's recent visit to India.

The New Testament cannot provide us with technique but it is here alone that we can find an adequate theological basis for evangelism. There is a mass of material relevant to the mission of the Church. I must be content with selecting only four very clear leads from the New Testament. The first is factual rather than theological in the strict sense.

1. In Acts and in the letters of St. Paul we find the Church always looking outward. Like the United States of America for many years, it had a moving frontier. The frontiers of mission ought always to be moving. Acts presents us with the exciting story of a growing Church. It grew because it put evangelism first. For the growth of the Church does not ultimately depend on either organization or education, the two spheres which have occupied the historic Church so much and so long, but on a sense of mission, a readiness to go out, a commitment to obedience in the world. St. Paul found himself responding to a strategy of the Holy Ghost (Acts 16:6-10) designed to take the Gospel westward without detour. In his letter to the Romans he is still thinking of the movement further west, envisaging a visit to Spain (Rom. 15:24, 28). As an apostle he made it his business to go to the regions beyond and so move the frontier. He never did missionary work in a place where there was already a church. To each new church he committed missionary responsibility. Each church was responsible for evangelism in its own neighbourhood. Paul congratulates the Thessalonian Christians for doing this so effectively, 'for not only has the word of the Lord sounded forth from you in Macedonia and Achaia, but your faith in God has gone forth everywhere' (1 Thess. 1:8). There is no thought of anyone from outside doing missionary work *instead of* the local Church.

2. If we try to discover how the apostolic church thought of itself, we find that it had only two real concerns: God and the non-Christian. These twin concerns are expressed in its twin activities: worship and mission. Both these are implied in the New Testament doctrine of the priesthood of the Church, which is none other than the priesthood of Christ flowing over into his Body and exercised through its members. The two aspects of priesthood are directed towards God and men. The Church performs its priestly duties towards God in prayer and worship, and towards men in service and evangelism. St. Paul actually describes evangelistic work in priestly language. He calls himself, 'a minister (leitourgon) of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles in the priestly service (hierourgounta) of the gospel of God, so that the offering of the Gentiles may be acceptable, sanctified by the Holy Spirit' (Rom. 15:16). The *locus classicus* for the definition of the Church's priesthood is to be found in 1 Peter 2:5, 9, 'yourselves built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ . . . that you may declare the wonderful deeds of him who called you out of darkness into his marvellous light'. The offering of spiritual sacrifices consists of prayer and worship; it also consists of missionary obedience in the Pauline sense and, lest there should be

any doubt about this, explicit reference is made in a repeat passage (v. 9) about the priesthood of the people of God, that part of its meaning is to declare his 'wonderful deeds', namely to engage in evangelism.

Naturally there is a relation between the priesthood of the Church and the priesthood of Christ himself because the Church is His Body. Our Lord's priesthood was expressed through his own human body during his own human life. This was a double offering also. In the body he was continually offering his life to God in perfect worship and complete obedience. And in the body he was offering his life for men in continual acts of service and love and finally in one perfect act of redemptive sacrifice on the Cross. It was offering on both these levels which led to the Cross and which gave it unique meaning and effect. On the Cross he was offering his life to God and for men; the two obediences, the two offerings had become one. As the Church partakes of the same obedience and fulfils its particular form of priesthood by engaging in both its prescribed activities, worship and mission, so these are taken up into the one perfect action of Christ and have effect through becoming his. There has never been any doubt about the Church's vocation to worship and the priestliness of this. Not nearly sufficient attention has been paid to the correlative priestliness of the Church's vocation to mission. A one-sided priesthood is not Biblical nor is it effective. It can never therefore be sufficient for the Church to remain merely a worshipping community holding services for its own kind. It must also be a witnessing community going out into the world to bring others to Christ, if it is to be truly a priesthood. The mission of the Church, evangelism, means the Church living as the Body of Christ in this world. It will also mean the Cross in some form or other.

3. Turning to the gospels we are presented with the Lord's own definition of his mission at the very outset of his ministry: 'Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God, and saying, "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent, and believe in the gospel"' (Mark 1:14, 15). His message falls into three parts, which the rest of his preaching, as also the apostolic preaching, expands. First, he insisted that this was a significant moment of time; it was a day of fulfilment, the breaking into history of a new era. Something new and something different was operating. His own arrival on the human scene was a fact of final and eternal significance. Things could never be the same again. The apostles in their preaching reflected the same excitement, this sense of newness and of fulfilment. St. Paul takes up this thought as pivotal. 'Behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation' (2 Cor. 6:2), he writes in connexion with a prophetic promise (Isa. 49:8), just as Jesus himself at the beginning of his Nazareth sermon, on another passage from Isaiah (61:1, 2), 'Today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing' (Luke 4:21). Genuine evangelism is always inspired with a sense of the significance of this present time, the

Christian era, which has not been for ever and will not last for ever but which continues during the dispensation of grace. We are still able to preach in the year of our Lord, anno domini.

Secondly, Jesus made an announcement. His message was the announcement, and it was about the Kingdom, the new life, that God was offering to men. His preaching was entirely about God. At no time has the Church had any other message committed to it, nor are we engaging in evangelistic preaching when we are talking about anything else than God. The contemporary evangelist has precisely the same offer to make to modern men—the Kingdom.

Thirdly, Jesus demanded some kind of verdict or response. When presented with this kind of news, this kind of gift, men could only say yes or no. The proper response was to 'repent and believe in the gospel'. A man had to do two things: to change his whole outlook and to commit himself utterly.

In these three phrases we are given the whole meaning and reason for evangelism, 'preaching the gospel of God'. There must be awareness of the situation, the offering of the message, the challenge to a response. Because of what he did, his Cross and Resurrection, Jesus became the message that he preached. Evangelism today is presenting men with the full Christian message of Jesus and his love.

4. This message in its totality is the Gospel of Salvation. For in the New Testament the activity of evangelism is meant to lead into the experience of salvation. Salvation is a theological concept fundamental to the whole Bible. It is in considering this key word, which occurs in one of its forms 150 times in the New Testament, that we begin to grasp the theological basis of all evangelistic activity and to know why we can and why we must evangelize. One way of approaching this is to notice the three great convictions which governed the thought and the ministry of St. Paul. We had three certainties. The first was about the will of God. Whether or not the pastoral epistles are Pauline—I think they are—they certainly belong to Paul's tradition. 'This is good, and it is acceptable in the sight of God Our Saviour, who desires all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth' (1 Tim. 2:3, 4). There is nothing equivocal about this. It is unfortunate that theological speculation has too often concerned itself with the wrong kind of universalism. It is not for us to know with certainty whether all men will in the end be saved. But it is for us to know that it is God's will that all men should be saved and by our obedience to bring God's will to pass. God's will is not always done. Yet we pray, 'Thy will be done', and every time we use the Lord's prayer we are in effect committing ourselves to evangelism, as is the whole Church, because it is God's will that all men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth. Millions still wait to hear.

Paul's second great conviction was about the condition of man. We speak about estrangement, despair, need. Paul sums

it up in one word: sin. 'All have sinned and fall short of the glory of God' (Rom. 3:23). This is the second area of universalism. None are excluded from God's good will, and none are excluded from our present predicament of sin. Precisely the same teaching about the human need for rescue and salvation is to be found in our Lord's three parables about being lost in Luke 15. Those who are lost need to be found and brought home. Every man is in need of the evangel, the gospel of salvation.

The third certainty is about the power of the Gospel. 'I am not ashamed of the gospel: it is the power of God for salvation to everyone who has faith' (Rom. 1:16). In the Christian message itself, in the very act of proclaiming it, as Paul had proved again and again, a power is released and made available to those who hear. This is what gives such paramount importance to the Word, the thing preached. For the divine Word is clothed in human words. The words matter greatly, for 'faith comes from what is heard, and what is heard comes by the preaching of Christ' (Rom. 10:17). Paul has no doubt whatever of the immense power of the word of the Gospel. 'The word of the cross is folly to those who are perishing, but to us who are being saved it is the power of God' (1 Cor. 1:18). It is by the proclaiming of this Gospel to men in their need that the will of God for their salvation may be accomplished. By its evangelism the Church is both meeting man's deepest and direst need and also doing God's will.

Not everyone says yes when presented with the Gospel of Christ nor does the New Testament expect this. In the gospels and in Acts we find people saying no. Some have to hear many times before they respond. But we should not be complacent about the noes, for two things need to be remembered. First, we need always to ask whether it is in fact the *whole* Gospel that has been preached or something partial and one-sided. 'I did not shrink from declaring to you the whole counsel of God' (Acts 20:27), said St. Paul to the Ephesian elders on the beach at Miletus. We cannot be expected to preach the whole Gospel in one sermon very often, let alone in every sermon; but the calendar of the Christian Year provides the opportunity for a disciplined balance and ensures the presentation of every aspect of the Gospel in turn. We need also to remember that 'there is an incalculable gap between the Gospel that is proclaimed and the Gospel that is heard, which has not always been taken into account in discussions about evangelism' (J. V. Taylor: *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*, p. 252, S.C.M. Press, 1958). People's hearing is determined by the 'auditorium', by all sorts of influences which shape their lives and thoughts. It is this which gives to the evangelist so great a responsibility for understanding the minds and the milieu of those to whom he preaches. It is this which constitutes and complicates our modern problem of 'communication'. To this problem we must now turn. At least let us be sure that it is the Gospel of Salvation which we

are called to communicate. And in the light of the New Testament evidence we may conclude that evangelism has a firm theological basis.

In any society relationships are only possible as individuals communicate with one another. All day long all of us are occupied in giving and receiving countless communications. The evangelist has something which he feels compelled to communicate to others. His problem is to communicate in such a way that they are able to understand what he says and to make responsible decisions about it.

In the human body there are two main physical organs for receiving communications from others, the eye and the ear, through which the senses of sight and sound are mediated. Seeing and hearing, eyes and ears, are prominent themes in the New Testament. Part of our Lord's ministry was devoted to enabling people to communicate better, for he made the blind to see and the deaf to hear. These activities of his were Messianic signs, indications that the age long expected had arrived, that the time was fulfilled. Isaiah had foretold the day: 'Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf unstopped' (Isa. 35:5; cf. 29:18). When St. Paul was describing his conversion experience on the Damascus road, he said, 'I saw a light . . . I heard a voice' (Acts 26:13, 14). St. John, giving his apostolic testimony to the origin of the Christian faith, wrote, 'That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes . . . that which we have seen and heard we proclaim also to you' (1 John 1:1, 3). Great emphasis is put upon both seeing and hearing, communication at both levels. To Saul of Tarsus Jesus became real to both senses. There was a seeing and a hearing. Eyes that had not seen before, ears that had not heard before, were opened. The obvious implication of this is that the Church in its evangelism must present the non-Christian world with a Gospel that can be truly seen and clearly heard—and present Christ in such a way. There has never been any doubt that the Gospel has to be heard. But has sufficient attention been paid to the necessity for the Gospel to be seen in the sense of being demonstrated, made visible in its effects? 'Mine eyes have *seen* thy salvation', said Simeon as he held the infant Christ in his arms. Salvation is not merely something to be talked about or hoped for. In Christ it has become visible. St. Paul speaks of the proclamation of the Gospel as involving more than words; it is 'in demonstration of the Spirit and of power' (1 Cor. 2:4; 1 Thess. 1:5). There were signs which could be seen as well as words that could be heard.

The theological language which the New Testament writers use to describe the Incarnation reinforces this idea of seeing and hearing. In the Old Testament Israel repeatedly *heard* God through the word of the prophets and *saw* the hand of God in the events that befell them, in judgment and deliverance. In Christ, however, men saw God and heard him directly. 'He

who has seen me has seen the Father' (John 14:9). 'In these last days (God) has spoken to us by a Son' (Heb. 1:2). Jesus Christ is both the Image of God and the Word of God. He is the Word made visible (John 1:1-14). He is the Image made audible (Heb. 1:1-3). In him God can be seen and heard, both. In the presentation of Christ, with which the Church is entrusted, there must be a real attempt to help men to see and to hear. The preacher presents the picture of Jesus and he tells the story of Jesus. Picture, story ; image, word ; seeing, hearing : such is the pattern.

Has not our communication been defective too often because it has been based on hearing only, without seeing ? In evangelism the Church has to take account of both wave-lengths. The Church is called to proclaim the Word of Christ audibly and to be the Body of Christ visibly. Both together. It is not sufficient to use audio-visual aids. *The Church itself is meant to be THE audio-visual aid to the Gospel it preaches*, to be a true community in which the life of Christ is manifested and where his power and love can be seen and his word heard. Where the Church is not a real fellowship in the New Testament sense, its capacity to communicate the Gospel effectively will be seriously weakened. In ecumenical circles it is being realized that unity and mission are knit together. On the local level this is equally true but not always realized.

One further thing needs to be said about communication. In the Christian sphere the great Communicator is the Holy Ghost. True communication can only be through him. In all our evangelism we are only agents and instruments, servants in the work of God which is greater than anything we can understand and remains a mystery. The story of Babel and the confusion of language in Genesis 11 was both a result and a sign of man's sin. Sin has complicated the problem of communication or, as some would say, created it. The significance of Pentecost is that on this multi-lingual occasion real communication was achieved and, according to St. Luke, 'devout men from every nation under heaven . . . heard them speaking in his own language'. We cannot easily envisage what happened but it is clear that the giving of the Holy Ghost opened the way to a new kind of communication. As Jesus said, it is the Spirit who convinces (John 16:7-11) ; we can neither convince nor in our own ability communicate effectively, for communication is more even than the mastery of language. We do not always communicate successfully with those who speak our own language. Evangelism is not a matter of technique but of obedience to the Spirit, the Communicator. St. Peter was an ignorant man with great sins, but he communicated with the crowd on the Day of Pentecost because he was filled with the Spirit.

Effective evangelism, real communication, comes about by presenting the whole Gospel of Christ, by demonstrating the fellowship of the Church of Christ, and by proclaiming him in

the fullness of the Spirit. Technical powers are no substitute for the Word, the Church and the Holy Ghost.

In evangelism two modes of approach may be distinguished, the direct and the oblique. Each of these is a legitimate way of communicating the Gospel. Direct evangelism is normally associated with an evangelistic sermon or mission or campaign of some kind. The aim is to proclaim the Gospel clearly with personal conversion in view. The message is expected to be challenging, culminating in an appeal for response. Such preaching is straight from the shoulder. It is meant to touch and stir the conscience and to move the will to decision. The most obvious and the best known example of this today is Dr. Billy Graham. But there are others also. And many pastors all over the world use this approach with devoted constancy.

The oblique approach is more subtle and indirect. Here the emphasis is rather on the power of suggestion, the fertility of a true idea germinating in the human mind, the significance of right influences. We find this in Christian art, music, painting, poetry, but particularly drama. The Gospel being a story makes it specially suitable for dramatic presentation. But even plays or novels which are not in a Biblical setting but entirely contemporary can be evangelistic in tone and meaning, if the logic of the whole is in a definitely Christian direction. As an example of this the plays of Mr. T. S. Eliot immediately spring to mind. The Gospel is implicit rather than explicit but none the less powerful for a certain type of audience. A play or a book can point to Christ as the only way, the proper fulfilment, the one answer to a problem, the only end to a search. Radio and television have great opportunities for this type of evangelism; so does the novelist. Sometimes people who would be quite unmoved by an evangelistic sermon, even if they could be persuaded to go to a place where one was being preached, may be drawn to the feet of Christ as a result of this mode of oblique approach. The Church must do all in its power and its imagination to encourage and promote experiments along these lines.

It is unfortunate that those who favour the one method often dismiss the other as worthless. We should rather recognize the desirability of both. It is important also to take account of the dangers and limitations in both. In the case of the direct method there is the risk of staleness and repetition. It is one thing for a travelling evangelist to use the same sermon many times in a variety of places; the local pastor cannot do this. But all too easily he can find himself preaching virtually the same sermon on a number of different texts. Moreover, if the local pastor is an ardent evangelist and often preaches in this way, he runs the risk of producing a congregation that is Gospel-hardened through hearing too many appeals. It is like calling 'Fire, fire'. Eventually people take no notice for they have become immunized to the challenge of the Gospel by hearing it delivered *in the same form and manner too often*. Either they have wearied of it or they have grown glib and are able to use all the

right words whilst remaining unconverted. Churches exist where precisely this has happened.

The danger in the use of the oblique approach, particularly if it is exclusively favoured by the preacher (as distinct from the novelist or dramatist), is that a strong desire for Christ may be created without the way to Christ ever being explained. The oblique manner at its best can lead people to 'feeling after Christ, if haply they might find him', but it seldom brings them to a point of decision or tells them the way of salvation. How does a person become a Christian? Oblique evangelism may bring someone to the stage where for the first time they ask that question and really want an answer, but it does not give the answer. A direct and declaratory word is required, and the Church through its ministers—or through its laity—must utter it. For whilst it is dangerous for men to be brought to the point of decision too often, it is disastrous for them never to be brought to the point of decision at all.

It is often assumed that evangelism is meant for those outside the Church. This is true. But we must remember that the Church itself needs constant evangelism. 'Tell me the story often, for I forget so soon . . .' No one, no Christian, reaches a stage where he does not need to hear and re-hear the Gospel. As we feed on Christ in the Sacrament so we feed on him in the Word. The Christian congregation must be continually confronted with the Gospel which brought it into being and which sustains its existence. A simple analysis of the constituents of many an average congregation underlines the relevance of evangelism in the congregation itself.

In any congregation there may be five different groups of people. 1. Nominal Christians, whose faith is inherited and second-hand. They are keeping up a family tradition by church attendance; their practice of religion is a form and a habit which has largely if not totally lost its reality. They have no living contact with Jesus Christ. He is not real to them. These difficulties belong to second, third and *n*th generation Christians, born into Christian homes. Like those at Laodicea they are 'neither cold nor hot' (Rev. 3:15). These need conversion. 2. There are lapsing Christians, those who were once committed but for some reason or other are gradually losing hold and losing interest, moving away from Christ and from faith in him. Already in the New Testament period apostasy was well known. St. Paul wrote to the Galatians about this, for some of them had lapsed (Gal. 1:6-8), and St. John wrote to those in Ephesus who had abandoned the love they had at first (Rev. 2:4). These need to be recalled to Christ by the Gospel. 3. There are partial Christians, sincere innocents who are only half-way there and may have got stuck. This is a special characteristic of younger Churches in which there are converts either from paganism or some other religion. The old beliefs may still have considerable power over them alongside a quite real Christian faith. In Africa there are many genuine Christians who feel the pull of the old superstitions just

under the surface and in times of crisis or calamity may yield to these through fear. In Japan there are Christians who in times of death and bereavement behave much more like Buddhists because Buddhist beliefs still persist on the deeper levels of their being. The situation of such partial Christians may be compared to that of Israel at the time when Elijah challenged them on Mount Carmel. They had reached a stage of religious co-existence, partially acknowledging the Lord God and partially the local baals. Elijah's message was: 'If the Lord is God, follow him; but if Baal, then follow him' (1 Kings 18:21). He was calling Israel to advance beyond this co-existence of faiths to a total allegiance in God, with no harking back or clinging on to the old deities. In many churches today in Africa and Asia there are partial Christians like this who need to be led on to a fuller response to Christ at the deeper levels of their being. They need the Gospel. 4. It is to be hoped that in several congregations there are enquirers. They have come to church wanting to know what Christianity is all about. They watch and listen. If over a course of time in attending church services they do not hear the Gospel proclaimed they are naturally disappointed and the Church has failed them. 5. In most congregations there is a nucleus of faithful Christians who have responded to Christ and are committed to him. These should be the spearhead of the Church's mission in the neighbourhood. They ought themselves to be training as lay evangelists who know the full content of the Gospel and how to speak to others about Jesus Christ. For them evangelism will be a reminder, an example and a spur.

There can of course be evangelism through systematic Christian teaching and through the very action of worship. The liturgy in structure and intention is profoundly evangelistic. Nevertheless there must be occasions, spaced at proper intervals, when in every church and congregation there is the activity of evangelism, direct and explicit. Without it the Church is like a pot-bound plant.

Book reviewers are requested to write the reviews as brief as possible. As a rule, books containing up to 200 pp., unless otherwise specified, should not exceed 250 words.

In this issue some of the reviews had to be reduced in length, in view of the lack of space.

Changing Content of Hindu Religious Terminology*

P. D. DEVANANDAN

In the long history of Hindu religious thought a traditional religious vocabulary has developed. It contains many terms, originally employed in the many Hindu Scriptures, which have passed over into the different Indian languages with slight local variation, still serving as current coin in religious commerce. Indian Christian religious terminology in the different regional languages is largely constituted of these same words. I believe that one of our major tasks in this generation is to face the problem which is created in consequence. The problem is inevitable. We as Christians have also to use those very words which these many years have been used in the context of a different religious system. Many of those words involve certain assumptions which are peculiar to Hinduism. And Hinduism being so complex and varied, consisting as it does of many religions within what is now known as *sanatana dharma*, these assumptions tend to change according to levels of Hindu culture and schools of sectarian thought. Our difficulty in this regard seems to me to be two-fold. On the one hand, there is the difficulty of divesting these terms of the assumptions implied in their Hindu usage. On the other hand, there is the task of investing these very words with Christian meaning. The commonly used word *avatara* is an instance. Some would hold that such Christian concepts as 'Sin', 'Salvation', 'Incarnation' and the like cannot be fully expressed in what appear to be corresponding words in the Indian language because there is a conceptual difference which is radical. Some would claim, however, that in the process of time the Christian usage of these terms can be established and that by long continued conversation not only would the difference in meaning-content come to be accepted but that through such conversation the claims of the Christian Gospel and the convictions of Christian faith can be fruitfully communicated. Perhaps the part of wisdom is to see how both these approaches can be combined, and try to discover what words can be acceptably adopted and used, and what words newly coined can be helpfully introduced

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if the true meaning-content of Christian religious concepts are to be preserved.

It is in this connection that I have ventured to answer briefly the question of how the *sanatana dharma* itself has faced this problem created by common religious vocabulary within Hinduism, among different religious schools of thought, and by the use of common religious terms in Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism as well as in the more modern Hindu religious movements such as Sarvodaya. This paper suggests an answer in a very cursory way. But if it succeeds in providing a discussion which would throw further light on the subject my purpose in initiating the discussion would have been more than justified.

It seems to me that there are three outstanding characteristics which are in a sense peculiar to Hindu religious terminology. One is the tendency to use negative terms such as *advaita*, *avidya*, *ahimsa*, *aparigraha* to convey positive meaning. Another is to use the same word for altogether different concepts, so much so that some of these words acquire an elastic nature, capable, if need be, of being stretched to include many concepts and of being narrowed down to stand for a single concept. *Dharma* and *Karma* are two very common instances which fall into this category. The third tendency is to use a word to convey the meaning of a double concept which in fact is an equation of both. The common use of the word *Atman* to imply at the same time the concept of the individual self and the Ultimate Self as an instance. Similarly the word *Maya* to convey the double meaning of *sat-asat*, that which is and that which is not.

Perhaps a little more may be said about each of these trends to invite further discussion. The word *ahimsa* is still translated as non-violence, or non-injury. But it has a wealth of positive meaning-content. The meaning of the word is drawn out more and more by stating what it stands for now—in the context of present-day world-life. Its negative meaning of 'Don't hurt living things' (because of assumption of *karma-samsara*, as especially in Buddhism and Jainism) is not what is conveyed by the word now. The meaning now is rather, 'Regard life as valuable' and what is more, it is not merely 'life' in the abstract but specifically life in the human person. So that it is now really used to imply (not actually to stand for yet) the worthfulness of the human person. One wonders whether it is at all associated with the belief in *karma-samsara*, where the modern Hindu mind is concerned. But if you were to ask a modern Hindu what he would regard as a fundamental tenet of Hindu *dharma* he would certainly claim that *ahimsa* is one. Similarly the term *aparigraha* is gaining remarkable meaning-content as it is used in Sarvodaya theory and practice. Literally meaning non-grabbing, along with *asteya* and *ahimsa*, it originally stood for an ethical principle from Upanishadic times on. But with the dynamic meaning-content now given it by Vinoba Bhave and Jaya Prakash Narayan, it is one of the basic concepts which has set Hindu India moving towards a

'socialistic pattern of society'. The original bias of an underlying individualistic ethic is no longer stressed. The idea is not that one gathers individual merit thereby and works out his own liberation from bondage to *karma-samsara* but that one makes possible community-being and social justice through *aparigraha*.

When all this has been said about new positive conceptual content put into traditional negative terms, we must not overlook the fact that these reformers (following in the wake of the greatest of the moderns) had to accept a newly coined word for the new religious and ethical outlook, namely, the word *sarvodaya*. In the same way, it may be pointed out that but for the term Vedanta, no doubt similarly coined, the negative terms such as *advaita* and *avidya* would not have acquired all the rich content and amazing variety of interpretation with changing times, as they still continue to do in our day.

The history of Hinduism would also indicate that it permitted considerable elasticity in the use of certain terms like *dharma*, *karma* and so forth. They developed a capacity to stretch far enough to comprehend many concepts. They conveyed more than one meaning at the same time. Religious concepts in the vast complex of Hinduism thus came to be telescoped, as it were, into one another. The two words, *dharma* and *karma*, I have cited as examples, have a way of shading off in several directions so as to cover a wide area. Nevertheless, these terms are also capable of being used with a limited meaning-content which is defined by the context of the discourse of thought. Again, they have been taken over by Buddhism and Jainism and as basic concepts in both these systems they have come to acquire diverse, but specific meaning.

Our interest is, of course, not in these words as such but in the concepts for which they stand. But as used in most Indian languages—and terms of this category seem to be current in practically *all* regional languages—they are multi-conceptual, as it were. *Dharma* would imply at least three things: a code of ethics regulating conduct; a system of religious practice concerned primarily with worship, and a body of beliefs dealt with rather from the standpoint of metaphysics than as credal affirmations. This comprehensive application of the term nevertheless does not prevent the Hindu from limiting its application to narrow confines, as when the word *dharma* is used for ethics (cf. the classical *catur varga*, viz. *dharma*, *artha*, *kama*, *moksha*). Because of the inherent advantage that this category of elastic concepts implied in these terms, they are being more and more employed in contemporary *sanatana dharma* in order to bring out its comprehensive character as the religion of all Hindus. Moreover they lend themselves to easy modernization in that they can be applied to convey new meaning in our day. Recently I was told by a Svami of the Ramakrishna Order of the need in our present age for a 'Technological *dharma*'!

Whatever the original meaning of the word *karma*, the underlying concept of 'deed' now interpreted as 'action' has shifted emphasis from the 'act' to the 'agent'. The word *karma* is still employed (again in its multi-conceptual sense), but attention is focused not on the deed but the doer, the *karta*, as in some sense responsible in the making of his destiny in the network of human relations he now is, and not as a victim resigned to the fate of his past *karma*. Apart from the interpretation of 'self-sacrificing work' put on such terms as *nishkama karma* by Sarvodaya leaders, modern interpreters of Vedanta like the Sankaracharya of Conjeevaram and Svami Chinmayananda of Kerala revert to the meaning of 'religious action', 'worship', 'what have to be *done* to the gods', and consequently stress the Hindu *anushtana* and *samakara* (acts of worship and keeping of the prescribed sacramental rites) as the *responsibility* (*karma*) of modern Hindus.

Turning now to the third type of terms used in Hindu thought, let me recall that they comprise of words which stand for a double concept which in a way juxtaposes both what it is and what it is not. This is not a case of a synthesis of a thesis and an antithesis, but an affirmation which amounts to saying 'Yes' and 'No' at the same time. Sat-asat acceptance of a 'both-and' is a Hindu dialect which seems confusing to those who are used to rigid alternatives of 'either-or'. But from the early beginnings of Hindu religious speculation the tendency has been to see identity in pairs of opposites (*dvandva*) and that has been regarded as the part of true wisdom. So much so knowledge itself (*jnana*) in the final analysis ceases to be the result of an encounter of the knower and the known by the ultimate realization that they are in fact identical.

The word *maya* stands for the various forms of belief which all imply that this word both is and is not. In many regional languages the word *maya* is also used to mean 'magic', the *mysterious* coming to be of something which does not in fact exist. At any rate, there are terms in Hindu religious thought which when employed in discourse imply four things: (1) A particular concept (e.g. *loka*, *atman*, *guna*); (2) Another concept which may be either its opposite or its counterpart (e.g. *maya*, Brahman, *saguna* and *nirguna*); (3) The acceptance of both concepts as separate and as in some sense valid in present experience; and (4) That in the final count (i.e. in terms of trans-experience of mystic apprehension) they are to be regarded as identical, in some sense the same. So differences matter and don't matter. This trend of development of conceptual thought is not confined to Hindu monists alone; it is also current among Hindu theistic sectarians and is very much in evidence also in modern schools of Hindu thought. This accounts for the characteristic adaptability of *sanatana dharma* to changing times: its willing accommodation to diverse and contradictory beliefs and practices: and above all, for its present claim to be 'tolerant'.

When all this has been stated I should go on to add that there are abroad three new forces in our country which have created, and are continuing to create, noticeable changes in Hindu religious concepts. These forces are: (1) Contemporary social and political thought associated with nationalism; (2) Christian values mediated through Western liberalism, humanism and secularism; and (3) Modern technology and the increasing importance given to the sciences in present-day education in all levels. What we should note is that although Hindu religious *terminology* has not changed, the *concepts* for which these terms stand have changed, and in some instances quite radically. And I am inclined to believe that this has been possible largely because of the three characteristics of Hindu terminology that I described earlier on in this paper.

Democracy is more than a pattern of government: it involves a way of life. And essentially that way of life is new to Hinduism. It may even be regarded as in some ways un-Hindu, not merely non-Hindu. Nevertheless it is becoming an accepted pattern not only of our political but also our social life. In consequence of the many concepts that have vitally entered into our living and thinking, perhaps the two most revolutionary are *Personality* and *Community*. Hindu thought had taken account of 'individuality' as expressed in the variations of *nama* and *rupa* for practical purposes of classification and description as in the *varnashrama* structure of society. But the idea of the worth and dignity of human person which we now associate with the concept of personality, and the idea, again, of the network of human relations, the community within which that worth and dignity are both realized and guaranteed, are both new to us in India. Contemporary Hindu religious leaders have revived two significant terms from the Baghavadgita for the purpose and given them a wider interpretation without doing unnecessary violence to their original meaning-content. These terms are *svadharma* and *loka samgraha*. In so doing they have also added new meaning to the traditional concept of *karma* and radically restated the basic principle on which the caste structure of Hindu society is based. One realizes his *svadharma* (i.e. becomes truly a person) by purposefully fulfilling his privileges and obligations in society, and the *rationale* of *varnadharma* is not to be found in its keeping the *varnas* independent and apart but in drawing them together into a sense of interdependence and solidarity which is *loka* (people) *samgraha* (held together).

The word *seva* so much used by our Hindu friends today stands for a concept which I have advisedly stated as 'representing Christian values mediated through Western liberalism, humanism and secularism'. I am yet to be convinced that the modern use of the word 'service' for which we Christians today claim some sort of a monopoly is wholly described by the original concept associated with the New Testament word 'diakonia'. Non-Christian Western liberalism, humanism and secularism of the Age of Enlightenment in Europe had a great deal to do with

widening the implications of 'the original Christian concept of *diakonia*'. I am convinced however that the element of 'concern' which is characteristic of 'service', and especially in the concept underlying the term 'seva' (as against *nishkama karma*), is fundamentally a Christian contribution to Hindu thought. That I believe accounts for the frequent admonition by our national leaders that all 'seva' be done 'with missionary zeal' meaning really 'in the Christian spirit'.

The influence of modern technology and the study of the sciences on changing Hindu concepts it is difficult to forecast, because this impact is only just beginning to be felt. The precision which insists on careful distinction characteristic of the scientific temper, the insistence on positive proof in terms of the concrete as against airy speculation of possibilities in the abstract on which rests all technological advance, are two revolutionary forces with which Hindu religious thought will have to contend in what my Vedantin Svami friend called the Age of technological *dharma* which we are entering. On the other hand, the pressure of the impersonal attitude towards life and the assumption that the phenomenal world is determined by inviolable laws of cause and effect, which need no explanation from outside the world as we know it, might well result in putting new meaning and significance to the basic concepts of Vedanta. The Hindu intellectual seems to be aware of the need for another overwhelming experiment in accommodation—the Hindu himself prefers the term 'synthesis'—to the new era of technological culture. The changes involved create a problem which has to do not with words but with concepts which words are meant to convey and with experiences which underlie the concepts. But there is something even deeper than difference of conceptual framework. Modern technology stands for a radically new understanding and experience of the world and of man's place in it, which is still for the most part unarticulated and unrecognized. There is the gulf that has to be bridged between the traditional concepts of religion and the temper of technological culture. Here Christian and Hindu find themselves strongly on common ground, for whether we like it or not we use a common religious vocabulary. The questions are 'Does it make sense?', 'Will it make sense to the man of Technology's tomorrow?'.

The Ecumenical Movement and Christian Social Thought in India

M. M. THOMAS

I. ECUMENISM—THE SEARCH FOR WHOLENESS^o

INTRODUCTION

The word 'ecumenical' (derived from *Oikoumene*=the inhabited globe) in Christian usage means the 'universal' as applied historically to the councils of the Catholic Church and geographically as belonging to the entire Christian Church throughout the world. When the late Archbishop Temple spoke of the ecumenical movement as 'the great new fact of our time', he was referring to the facts, both of the existence of the Church in all countries of the world, and the movement towards its unification.

The modern ecumenical movement may be defined as a movement towards the *wholeness of the Church*, a wholeness defined by the universality of Christ. Therefore the search for a fuller understanding of Jesus Christ (Christology) and consequently of the Church (ecclesiology) is integral to this movement. But since Christ is the fulfilment of God's purpose for the world and the Church the instrument of His mission in the world, one might speak of the ecumenical movement as engaged in a renewal of its theological understanding of the world, in which the Church is called as the Body of Christ to its universal mission.

The movement has three clear aims : *First*, it is concerned with the unity of the Church. As there is one Lord, there is one Church. Hence, it is a movement working for the healing of the divisions within the Church. Since unity should be defined, not by worldly expediency but by the truth of its own nature, this involves the common search for the essential faith and structure given by God in Christ to the Universal Church and necessary

^o This article is based on the first of a series of four lectures on the *Ecumenical Movement and Christian Social Thought in India* given at the Bangalore Theological College Extension Course in January-February 1960.

for its wholeness. *Second*, it is concerned with the world-wide mission of the Church to preach the gospel to 'every creature'. The unity which the Church seeks is a unity in and for the mission of the unfinished task of proclaiming the gospel of Christ to all men in all parts of the world and of inviting them to make their decision for Christ and to enter the fellowship of His Body. Here it is the mission of the Church to all mankind that determines its universality. *Third* (and this is the point we are dealing with, in these lectures), the ecumenical movement is concerned with the Church's call to witness to the gospel of Christ's salvation as being universal in the sense of comprehending 'all things' in heaven and earth and 'all of life'.

JESUS CHRIST, THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD

In any Christian discussion of the structure of social life, we are essentially dealing with Christ and His Church; and vice versa. Christ, the Church and the World have to be seen together, if we are to see any of them in the proper perspective.

Recent ecumenical thinking has given a great deal of emphasis on this integral relation of Christology (doctrine of Christ), ecclesiology (doctrine of the Church) and Christian sociology (defined in the wide sense of the Christian understanding of society). Mainly because the starting-point of all ecumenical social thought has been the universal Lordship or Kingship of Christ over the world. This immediately relates Christ, the world and the Church. Let me illustrate this by referring to the social thinking of the post-war Asian Church gatherings.

The Bangkok Conference of the East Asian Church leaders of 1949 enters their discussion of the Asian revolution with the doctrine of Christ's Lordship of the world and all life :

The Gospel proclaims that God's sovereignty includes all realms of life. Christ sitting at the right hand of God reigns and the Church owes it to the world to remind it constantly that it lives under His judgment and grace.

And in the Kuala Lumpur Assembly of the East Asia Christian Conference, the report on society defines its approach to the Asian revolution in terms of the Kingship of Christ over the world :

It (the Christian Gospel) is a gospel of the Kingship of Christ over the world. Therefore the meaning of world history including that of modern Asian history is to be discovered in that Kingship, which today is hidden, and will be revealed at the end of time. The Church must endeavour to discern how Christ is at work in the revolutions of contemporary Asia—releasing new creative forces, judging idolatry and false gods, leading peoples to a decision for or against Him, and gathering to Himself those who respond in faith to Him, in order to send them back unto the world to be witnesses to His Kingship. The Church must not only discern

Christ in the changing life but be there in it, responding to Him and making His presence and Lordship known.

For this reason, the report goes on to say that :

Our discussion as Christians about economics, politics and society are therefore conversations about Jesus Christ, that is to say, an attempt of faith to discern Him in the social change of our nations and to discover what it means to respond to Him.

This understanding of the relation between Christ, the world and the Church has found expression in several recent consultations on Religion and Society in India also. For instance, the Nagpur Conference of 1958 speaks of the need to interpret the modern cultural renaissance of India in the light of Christ's present Lordship and this goal of summing up everything on Christ.

The Christian lives by his faith in the Universal Lordship of Christ. It was He by whom all things were made, who at a particular moment in history became man. By his life, death and resurrection He has redeemed the world and reconciled man to God. This is the Lord who in all generations comes in judgment and in fulfilment to claim His own, and it is the purpose of God to sum up all things in Him. While we therefore believe that in sober fact, the redeeming work of Christ for all men is accomplished and that even now Christ reigns in the world, this reign is still hidden from the world and is perceived by faith.

Or again, the Nagpur Consultation of 1959 on International Affairs and World Peace says :

God has radically altered the direction and course of history in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ . . . By the grace of God we know that already the world is redeemed, is at peace in Him. We *are* brothers for whom Christ died across every barrier of ideology, race and culture. This is our Faith . . . The Lordship of Christ is therefore not one more fact to be added to the facts of the present situation, as if the equation was: World plus Christ. He is not to be added as if He were a piece of data augmenting the primary data. Rather to know the Lordship of Christ is to know the world differently, to know it and see it from a radically different angle or point of viewing . . . He is the starting point, the primary datum in every relationship. He is between man and man. He is between man and society. He is the ground of all that is. All that is is in Him.

Just as there is an integral relation between our understanding of Christ and a true interpretation of the reality of the world, it is equally true that both have relevance to the search for the true structure of the Church. It is widely recognized that the 'social and cosmic' nature of Christ's salvation, and the Church's

mission to be the earnest and symbol of that salvation define the essential structure of the Church. Says Kuala Lumpur 1959 :

It (the Christian Gospel) is a gospel of redemption of the whole human race and of the whole created world. By His death and resurrection Jesus Christ has reconciled 'all things to Himself' His (God's) purpose is not to withdraw individual spirits one by one from their involvement with material things and human communities in order to set them in a 'purely spiritual' relation to Himself. Rather His goal is to 'unite all things in Him'.

It is this that gives sense to the idea and reality of the Church. In fact, one cannot see the relevance of the Church as an historical corporate institution with sacramental symbols unless we see God's purpose as including in its scope the whole world of history, institutions, society and natural powers.

The findings of the recent study of Rapid Social Change in India, after discussing the need for a renewal in the Church's understanding of the world of society, says that this

must necessarily involve a reappraisal of her (the Church's) nature and form. An awareness of the mission of the Church as co-extensive with the corporate life of men and the whole cosmos, must deepen the idea of the essential corporate character of the Church and the Church's witness. If sin includes the perversion of the structure of collective existence, politics, economics, society and culture and the misuse of man's mastery of nature, Divine Grace must mean the redemption of social structures and the restoration of man's sacramental relationship with the natural world. Therefore the Church being the witness to the Order of Grace should witness to these aspects of redemption within her own life. The Church has traditionally been defined as a people, a congregation, created by God around the Word and the Sacraments, with an essential order. This definition of the Church as a people of God among the peoples of the world receives new depth in the light of the Church's awakening to her social responsibility.

Bishop Newbigin in his famous book on the Church, *The Household of God*, at one point derives the nature of the Church from the destiny of the world in Christ :

The redemption with which He (God) is concerned is both social and cosmic and therefore the way of its working involves at every point the recreation of true human relationships and of true relationships between men and the rest of the created order. Its centre is necessarily a deed, wrought out at an actual point in history at a particular place. Its manner of communication is through a human community wherein men are reborn into a new relation one with another and become in turn the means of bringing others into that new relationship ; and through sacramental signs wherein

man is restored to a true sense of, and valuation of, the created world . . . The means which God employs for our salvation are congruous at every step both with the nature wherewith He endowed us when He created us and the world of which we are a part and with the end to which He leads us, which is that all things should be summed up in Christ.

In all these statements the main ideas are clear : (1) Christ is present in the world as its Lord, actively engaged in creating, judging and redeeming it. (2) Though this activity is hidden, the Church by faith can discern this presence and activity of Christ in the world. This discernment should express itself in a true interpretation of the world and its realities. (3) The mission of the Church is to remind the world that its Lord is Christ. The Church through its worship, preaching, service and fellowship, should be a sign of the Lordship of Christ which is present and prepare the way for its final manifestation in His second coming. As Bishop Stephen Neil says : 'The life of the Church is and always must be sacramental' till the final reality of the Kingdom makes it unnecessary.

NEW EMPHASES NECESSARY IN INDIA

The 1948 Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches stated self-critically that, in the past, on the whole they (the Churches) have often concentrated on a purely spiritual, other-worldly or individualistic interpretation of their message and their responsibility.

This is in large measure (perhaps one should say) particularly true of the Missions and Churches in Asia. Kuala Lumpur 1959 speaks of the Asian Churches' 'failure to recognize the lay mission of the Church and Church's direct involvement in the world for the sake of witness' ; and it adds :

The inheritance of a pietistic Christian tradition coupled with escapist tendencies already inherent in the Asian religious traditions have to be counteracted.

There is need to correct lopsidedness by emphasizing some forgotten aspects of the redemption of Christ which are very relevant for the new society in India. Let me mention a few of them :

Firstly, there is need in India today to emphasize that Christ's redemption is a gospel of *consecration of the material world and the powers of nature*. In India, as elsewhere in Asia, the people are seeking material security, and higher standards of living through planned industrialization. What is the Christian evaluation of this urge for increased material productivity and abundance of things? Asking this question, the Kuala Lumpur Assembly 1959 of the East Asia Christian Conference says :

Many in the Church tend to dismiss this as materialistic. It is true that man does not live by bread alone. But it must

be affirmed strongly by the Churches that economic welfare is a necessary means of the good life. It becomes materialistic when it is conceived as the end of life. Looked at in this perspective, the search for material security and economic justice, which is a basic drive in Asia, may become a sign of the abundant life which Christ has promised. With wrong spiritual motivation, it may also become a curse.

St. Paul warns Timothy that the teaching which forbids marriage and enjoys abstinence from food is a heresy and affirms that preaching of the Word of God and the worship of God (prayer and thanksgiving) sanctify (consecrate—R.S.V.) created things : 'For every thing created by God is good and nothing is to be rejected if it is received with thanksgiving, for then it is consecrated by the Word of God and prayer'. It is this that the sacraments, more especially the sacrament of Holy Communion, proclaim. The consecrated elements, as means of Grace and of Christian fellowship in worship, symbolize the fact that the Church looks forward to the final consecration of all material things, and all powers of nature.

It is right and relevant to speak in this context of the consecration of modern science and technology and of industrial life through the gospel of Christ.

Secondly, we must present the gospel of Christ in India today as *victory over the cosmic powers of evil*, that is the forces of spiritual perversity which have found their abode in corporate historical human existence, expressing themselves in systems of thought, imagination and worship which drive men to evil, often in spite of their individual wills. Many Biblical scholars have argued that St. Paul in speaking of 'principalities and powers' and 'the elemental spirits of the universe' has been speaking of these demonic structures of evil, represented by the many 'lords and gods' of his period. Even if there is a great deal of demythologization of 'demons' in our age, there is little doubt that much of the fanatic religious fury of the traditional communalism and the modern ideologies cannot be understood solely in terms of the ill-will of individual men involved in it; there is a dimension here of spiritual structures, nourished by the idolatrous worship of men. We may illustrate from the toughness of the caste system in India. A recent consultation on caste in India, after speaking of the economic and social aspects of caste, said :

Lastly, and perhaps more important than the other two, the common use of the term, 'the demon of caste,' points towards the truth that caste and allied structures are more than sociological in character, that they have spiritual roots; and they have the sanction of traditional religion. Therefore, until there is a sufficiently dynamic spiritual motivation to destroy the old and reconstruct the new, the hold of the old demons will resist social changes.

Maybe the phrase, 'demons of caste', is used figuratively, but it points to a spiritual focus of evil which cannot be comprehended in purely economical, sociological or even cultural terms.

Lest it appear that this emphasis on the demonic is too much of a surrender to some of the Continental theologians, let me quote from H. A. Hodges, *The Pattern of Atonement* :

False gods are no mere fantasy. They are real and dangerous powers . . . Every human fantasy which has become fixed in a formula and focused in an image and is capable of obsessing the mind, every false purpose dwelt upon as a longing, crystallized as a habit and so ruling the will, provides a dwelling-place into which powers, more deeply sunk in falsehood and sin than we, can enter and dwell . . .

It is thus that we must analyse all pagan gods . . . When paganism is dead and the very names of the old gods are forgotten, intellectual, social and political movements serve their purpose no less well, and today the demonic power in these things is clearly manifest.

In the villages and among the tribals many missionaries presented the gospel as the message of victory over demons ; and it meant liberation. There is need for the same message in terms of the more sophisticated demons of our scientific and secularized age.

Thirdly, the Christian gospel must be presented in India today as the source of the *renewal of social institutions and structures*. It is one of the fallacies of our individualistic age that we think that social institutions are created by individuals through contract. And individualistic Christianity has, therefore, spoken of change of social institutions through changed individuals. There is no doubt a half-truth here ; but its one-sided emphasis has made it false. It must be recognized that society and its institutions are integral to the nature of man from the beginning and they have an existence independent of man's individuality. With the emergence of socialism, this recognition has led people to overemphasize the other half-truth, that individuals are creatures of social groups ; and thus we get 'collectivism' reacting against individualism. But the truth is that society and its essential structures cannot be understood except as part of the fundamental givenness of things ordained by God in creation or for preservation. If they are so, then the gospel of Redemption means a renewal of social institutions and structures, apart from the spiritual rebirth of individuals, though no doubt related to it.

The gospel is God's word of judgment and renewal of the institution of family, the economic order, the pattern of society and the structure of the State.

Fourthly, Christianity should declare Jesus Christ as the *revelation and fulfilment of the meaning of history*. This is an age of historical dynamism which brings with it a sense of historical purpose, giving rise to powerful movements based on different

kinds of Messianism. Scientific rationalism, democratic humanism, dialectical materialism, nationalism, fascism—all these have tremendous appeal because of their interpretations of history, which open for men a path of participation in the fulfilment of historical destiny. Here the recovery of Christian eschatology, which sees the fulfilment of 'end' of history, the Kingdom of God, in the movement defined by the two poles of Jesus Christ Risen and Jesus Christ Coming Again, is of tremendous social significance.

It is significant that the Kuala Lumpur Assembly of the East Asia Christian Conference in its report on Church and Society (as already noted) placed primary emphasis on the Kingship of Christ as the clue to 'the meaning of world history including that of modern history'.

In India, the sense of history and the emergence of historical dynamism are beginning to make their impact on the static concepts and structures of society. And it is important that the Church today emphasizes that Christ is the alpha and omega of universal human history.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

The Rev. D. Webster, M.A., is the Education Secretary of the Church Missionary Society in London and visited India recently.

Dr. P. D. Devanandan is Director, Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, 19 Miller Road, Bangalore 1.

Mr. M. M. Thomas is Associate Director of Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, Panavilla, Trivandrum, Kerala.

Dr. S. Estborn is on the staff of the Gurukul Theological College, Madras.

The Rev. A. John Langdon is a missionary of the Church of Scotland, Church of Scotland Mission Compound, 19 Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay 7.

Theologians in Conflict*

S. ESTBORN

It has always been a gratifying task of young theologians to overthrow idols among the theologians of the preceding generation and throw them down from their pedestals. Professor Wingren in his book, *Theology in Conflict*, is delightfully swinging his iconoclastic mace against three such giants, viz. Nygren, Barth and Bultmann.

His book does not offer an examination of the total systems of these theologians. This is, of course, not possible in a book of 170 pages. Nor is it necessary for the overthrow of theirologies. He confines himself to an analysis of some fundamental presuppositions underlying their systems. He has chosen what he calls the anthropological and hermeneutical presuppositions on which each of them has built his theology.

In the case of Barth, Wingren has found that the fundamental anthropological assumption is that of the absolute difference in kind between God and man. Barth describes the relationship between them as the antithesis between the superior and the inferior. Man has no knowledge of God; and this is the plight of man: his ignorance of God, unless God reveals Himself. The decisive theological category, therefore, is that of Revelation, which takes place in the Incarnation. It is characteristic of Barth's theology that there is no devil and no kingdom of evil. This is so, says Wingren, because these were absent in the 'liberal' theology. Barth has just turned that theology upside down. The 'liberal' theology put man in the centre; Barth has made it his task to put God in the centre. Because God is unknowable apart from His self-revelation, and because this revelation is given only in Christ, Barth so vehemently denies the existence of man's natural capacity of knowing anything about God. But because man's plight primarily is his ignorance of God, Salvation, primarily, becomes impartation of knowledge. Salvation from sin and guilt comes only in the second place.

This 'anthropological' presupposition, naturally, will have a decisive bearing on Barth's hermeneutical principle, his interpretation of Scripture. Within this framework it is impossible to do justice to the New Testament, where the Cross as the triumph

*Gustaf Wingren: *Theology in Conflict*. Translated by Eric Wahlstrom. Oliver and Boyd, 1958.

over evil and salvation from evil, sin and guilt takes the first place.

With regard to Bultmann, Wingren points out that the underlying anthropological presupposition is that of the existentialist conception of man. This philosophy knows nothing of sin and guilt, nor of God and eternity, and Bultmann, therefore, in his interpretation of Scripture, simply has to make an unwarranted 'leap' into the Kerygma. Nevertheless, his existentialist framework prevents him from taking the Kerygma in its depth and totality. He has to treat it as 'mythology', and he is engaged in 'demythologizing' the Gospel, i.e. interpreting it in concrete notions in such a way that they appear as bearers of an understanding of existence. He is able to employ most of the New Testament vocabulary: fall, sin, guilt, salvation, death, resurrection, 'old man', 'new man', eternal life—but all these words mean something different from what they connote in the Bible. Man has 'fallen', yet not from God, but from his own true self: in an existential decision he has to 'die' from his past, the 'old man', and be 'resurrected' to his own true self, the 'new man'; his 'sin' or 'guilt' is his lack of self-realization; and salvation, correspondingly, is just self-realization. And all this takes place within the short span of time from man's birth to his death. The question whether there will be a resurrection in the future is eliminated. It is not only impossible to find acceptable answers to such a question, but the question itself destroys faith. For faith is concerned only with the present 'now'. The decision now is 'realized eschatology'. The question whether something has actually happened in the past in Christ can also be completely eliminated. It is not only impossible to find acceptable answers to such a question, but to ask this question is to flee from the choice which the Gospel places me in now. The personal name Jesus Christ is retained, but as it cannot be existentially interpreted it is to be regarded as a remnant of mythology which has to be tolerated. But, concludes Wingren, the Gospel is by its very nature a message about events that have taken place, and to remove this aspect of it is to remove the Gospel itself.

With Nygren I shall deal a little more in detail in this review-article, because the ideas which Wingren has analysed, and the books he refers to, are not very well known to English readers as they are accessible only in Swedish.

Nygren's perhaps most important contribution to theological research moves in the border-land between philosophy and theology. In one of his earliest works, *Religious a-priori* (1921), he undertook a deduction of the religious category in the Kantian sense of the term. Human experience and cultural life as we know it can be summed up within the comprise of four different categories, viz. those of the theoretical, aesthetical, ethical and religious aspects of consciousness. Kant, as is well known, by his so-called transcendental method of reasoning, deduced the fundamental categories of three of these kinds of experience,

namely the theoretical, the aesthetical, and the ethical. He demonstrated the 'validity' of these kinds of experience. Popularizing the statement it is also possible to say that in these three different kinds of experience we are in touch with different aspects of Reality.

On account of his moralistic conception of religion he was not able, by his transcendental method, to deduce the fundamental category of religion. Instead he tried to prove the legitimacy of religious experience by way of 'postulate' from ethics. The ethical experience 'postulates', demands, the reality of that which is experienced in religion, viz. God, the soul, and immortality (the moral proof of God's existence). But this is a somewhat doubtful demonstration, and whereas the validity of the theoretical, aesthetical and ethical kinds of experience has never been seriously questioned, the validity of the religious kind of experience has been denied in wide realms of modern thinking. In other words, it has been denied, or at least questioned, that we in the religious experience are in touch with Reality; the religious experience may be pure imagination and delusion.

Already Schleiermacher attempted, though not quite successfully, to deduce the religious category. Nygren, it seems more convincingly, has renewed the attempt. He reasons as follows: If it can be proved that a certain kind of experience, which cannot be subsumed under any other kind of experience, is necessary for the validity of the other kinds of experience, then this (first mentioned) kind of experience must be accepted as valid. Now, the theoretical, aesthetical and ethical experiences are each one *sui generis*, i.e. an experience of one of these kinds cannot be had in the same way in any of the other kinds. But if an experience shall be regarded as valid, or, popularly speaking, as a contact with Reality, there must be something of *eternity* in it. Truth is not real truth if there is nothing of eternity in it. Similarly beauty is not real beauty if the character of eternity is absent. In the same way, nothing is really good if it is not eternally good. But the experience of eternity is a religious experience. It is nowhere experienced in the same way as in religion. The religious experience, therefore, is *sui generis*, and its category is the category of eternity. It is found to be necessary for the validity of the other kinds of experience. The religious experience is thereby proved to be a kind of experience of first-grade validity.

All this is a scientific, philosophical, argument. It is the business of philosophy of religion to establish the fundamental religious category. Strictly speaking, this is the only thing the philosophy of religion can do. Just as philosophy can only establish the category of beauty as the category of aesthetics but cannot establish scientifically what is beautiful, because that is a matter of taste, or as philosophical ethics can establish the category of the good but cannot demonstrate scientifically what is good, because that is a matter of valuation, so also the philosophy of religion can only formulate the question of eternity, but that is a

formal and empty question to which the historical religions must give the concrete answer. Philosophy cannot decide which of the different historical religions gives the right answer, or the best answer. The choice of religion, ultimately, is not a merely theoretical matter, but a decision in which the whole personality is involved.

The task of Christian theology, therefore, will be that of *describing* the Christian answer to the religious question. And this can be done in a quite objective, scholarly and scientific way. It will give a contribution to scientific historical knowledge. For this purpose it will be necessary, first, to search for the fundamental motif of the Christian faith. Here Nygren's 'motif-research' comes in. In his books *Philosophic and Christian Ethics* and *The Scientific Foundation of the Method of Christian Theology* (neither of them translated into English) he has established *agape* as the fundamental Christian motif, which gives the Christian answer both to the religious and the ethical questions. In his famous *Agape and Eros* he has offered an historical analysis of the way of the Agape-motif in the Church through the ages up to the Reformation inclusively.

Wingren has not attempted any criticism of Nygren's philosophical deduction of the religious category. Others have tried to do that but with small success. It seems that Nygren has convincingly vindicated the validity of the religious experience. In a time when this form of experience is widely questioned this is an important achievement.

But Wingren criticizes Nygren's theological method for violating the interpretation of Scripture. By making a philosophically deducted category the foundation of theology he has forced Scripture, says Wingren, to answer questions which are foreign to it. Agape does not answer the question of eternity but the question of *guilt*.

So far as I am able to see, Wingren in this point is a victim of a misunderstanding. It is true that philosophy does not ask the question of guilt. Can it be asked apart from Scripture? Is it not so, that only through Revelation I became aware of my sin and guilt? Scripture reveals both the question of sin and guilt and its answer: *agape*, self-giving and forgiving love.

Thereby it has also given the answer to the religious question as formulated by philosophy: What is my relation to eternity? It is difficult to see how thereby any foreign viewpoint has been forced upon Scripture.

But Wingren maintains that just that aspect of Scripture which reveals sin and guilt, viz. law, has been ruled out by Nygren's interpretation of agape. Nygren contrasts *agape* to two other kinds of historical religion, viz. *eros* and *nomos*. By the first is meant a religion in which man is seeking after God, and trying, by his own resources, to discover Him and climb up to Him by means of meditation, prayer and other devotional practices, as in Platonism and many other kinds of mysticism. The other one is a religion in which man by works of the law (*nomos*

seeks moral perfection in order to merit his salvation, as in Judaism, Pelagianism and other forms of legalistic religion.

Wingren's contention is that Nygren, through his motif-research, in opposing *agape* to *nomos*, necessarily gives an inaccurate interpretation of Scripture by ruling out law, through which knowledge of sin and guilt came. Here Wingren seems to have committed the almost unbelievable blunder of equating Nygren's *nomos* with law. As we have already pointed out, *nomos*, in Nygren's theology, stands for *a certain type of religion*, viz. that of self-righteousness through works of the law, not for law itself, within or outside Scripture. On the contrary, Nygren repeatedly maintains that *agape* is operative and its message becomes meaningful only against the background of law. With St. Paul he would be able to say: 'Do we then overthrow the law by this faith? By no means! On the contrary, we uphold the law' (Rom. 3:31). Wingren's contention that Nygren, by his theological method, is forced to an inaccurate interpretation of Scripture cannot be maintained.

Wingren, further, criticizes Nygren for having 'stopped in history', for having limited the task of theology to a study of the historical forms of the Christian faith. Two demands are implied in this criticism. First, theology ought to study, not only how *agape* has worked itself out in past generations, but how it is to be worked out in our own time in relation to the problems confronting it now. Secondly, theology ought not to fight shy of the question of the *truth* of the Christian faith, that means practically, that theology ought to undertake to prove that the Christian faith alone is true religion. In order to meet these requirements, as well as to rectify the inadequacy of Nygren's interpretation of Scripture, Wingren demands the demolition of the philosophical foundation and the whole framework of Nygren's theology. He contends that the proper subject of theology is not the fundamental Christian motif, but Christian preaching, in its relation to the central Christian truth and its application to present-day problems.

Whether *Christian preaching* is a more appropriate subject of theology than the fundamental Christian motif seems doubtful. Also in that case the study of this motif cannot be omitted. With regard to the first demand mentioned above, it may be discussed whether this task belongs to theology proper or, like preaching, can be better dealt with in the disciplines of practical theology. Anyhow, there is nothing in Nygren's method that prevents theology from undertaking it.

With regard to the demand that theology should undertake research as to the truth of the Christian faith, it would of course be desirable if it could be done. But is it possible scientifically to establish the superiority of the Christian faith? If it is not possible, it is certainly not the fault of Nygren's theological method. The fact is that it would demand a scientific standard measure of religious truth, but, so far, it has not been possible to discover any such standard. Nor is it likely to happen, because

it would imply that man had succeeded in circumscribing the divine reality within the borders of human reason—which is impossible. Nygren's method has taken account of this fact. His theology has its weaknesses, but they are not to be found where Wingren is looking for them. It may, for instance, be asked why Nygren has excluded not only the 'Eros-religion' from Christian theology—which is of course quite correct to do—but also 'Eros' in the sense of man's longing and seeking after God. A synthesis need not at all be synergistic. Is not man's seeking after God only the reflex in man of God's seeking him? Nygren has always shown a tendency to be too logical, too straight. He forgets that we are living in a spherical universe, and he easily is running off along a tangent.

There are many fine observations in Wingren's work, particularly with regard to Barth's and Bultmann's theologies, and a study of his book is rewarding. But to his own old teacher he has done less than justice.

Books and Publications Received

N.C.C. and C.I.S.R.S.:

P. D. Devanandan and M. M. Thomas. *CHRISTIAN PARTICIPATION IN NATION-BUILDING*. Rs.7.

Lutterworth Press:

J. Poulton. *A GUIDE FOR LIVING (Key Books)*. 2sh.

J. R. Shaw. *BACKGROUND TO THE NEW TESTAMENT (Key Books)*. 2sh.

Oxford Press:

E. H. Brookes. *THE CITY OF GOD AND THE POLITICS OF CRISIS*. 10/6sh.

N. Micklem. *THE DOCTRINE OF REDEMPTION (New edition)*. 12/6sh.

Westminster Press:

P. S. Minear. *IMAGES OF THE CHURCH IN THE NEW TESTAMENT*. \$6.00.

C.L.S.:

W. Ryburn. *THE THEORY AND METHOD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION*. Rs.2/40.

Hodder and Stoughton:

D. W. C. Ford. *AN EXPOSITORY PREACHER'S NOTEBOOK*. 12/6sh.

G. Bornkamm. *JESUS OF NAZARETH*. 21sh.

A. C. Bridges. *IMAGES OF GOD*. 16sh.

J. C. Pollock. *EARTH'S REMOTEST END*. 25sh.

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T. Colliander. *THE WAY OF THE ASCETICS*. 9/6sh.

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THE SOUTH-EAST ASIA JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, Vol. 2, No. 3, January 1961.

The Relation between the Incarnation and the Atonement

REV. A. JOHN LANGDON, M.A., LL.B., B.D.

‘Have this mind in you, which was also in Christ Jesus : who, being in the form of God, counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men ; and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, becoming obedient even unto death, yea, the death of the cross. Wherefore also God highly exalted him, and gave unto him the name which is above every name.’¹

‘Wherefore when he cometh into the world, he saith
Sacrifices and offering thou wouldest not,
But a body didst thou prepare for me ;
In whole burnt offerings and sacrifices for sin
thou hadst no pleasure :
Then said I, Lo I come
(In the roll of the book it is written of me)
To do thy will, O God.

... Then hath he said, Lo I am come to do thy will. He taketh away the first that he may establish the second. By which will we have been sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all.’²

In the New Testament we do not find the Incarnation or the Atonement as isolated themes, but they are linked together and found with other themes, especially those of resurrection and exaltation. The passage above from Philippians illustrates this point well, showing that the Incarnation and the Atonement are elements in the process of the descent of the Son of God, and the ascent of Son of Man/Son of God. Likewise in the passage from the Epistle to the Hebrews, with its quotation from Psalm 40,³ we see the Incarnation and Atonement grounded in the eternal purpose of God. This passage points back to what God was doing

¹ A.V. Phil. 2:5-9.

² A.V. Heb. 10:5-7, 9-10.

³ vv. 6-8.

in and through Israel, as well as pointing forward to the radical fulfilment of the Incarnation in the atoning death of Jesus Christ on the cross. In the Gospels, similarly, we see the themes linked together in the drama of the Incarnate life, its development and Christ's full identification with men culminating in His death upon the Cross, and His final justification by resurrection and exaltation.

From the foregoing, and when we look at the Bible as a whole, we see clearly revealed, therefore, that God's redemptive purpose for man is one. That Incarnation and Atonement are indissolubly bound together as are the Old and New Covenants. The Old tells us of One who is to come and of a New Kingdom: the New triumphantly proclaims the Christ who has come bringing the Kingdom in Himself. The movement of the grace of God throughout the Bible is to one end—the renewing of the bond of fellowship between Him and man which was broken at the fall.

In the Old Testament we see that Israel was elected by God to be His instrument for the redemption of mankind, but the picture the Old Testament gives us of Israel and the Israelites is that of a people who resisted their own election so that it became hidden and ineffective. The Israelites, therefore, because they were the object of God's grace, were continually being judged, and punished because of their withdrawal from God's grace. Yet throughout this period, which might be called the pre-history of the Incarnation, though as I have indicated it was also a movement of the Incarnation and Atonement, God was preparing a way for Himself so that He could manifest His trust, and fulfil the mission of Israel when the time was fulfilled. This happened in the birth, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, God's son, in whom Israel's mission was revealed in its entirety, fulfilled and accomplished. Accomplished in and through the Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, and yet from above. Accomplished by the Word who became Jewish flesh for He could become no other.⁴

In the New Testament we see Israel's rejection of Him who was the hope of Israel, but when we turn back to the Old Testament we see this as a confirmation of Israel's previous history. Israel had sat in the face of God before she spat in Christ's face as she deliberately handed him over to the heathen Pilate to be killed upon the Cross. Yet it would appear that the tradition of Israel gave no adequate preparation for the Incarnation as such, in the unique sense in which it did happen—the union of God and man in Jesus Christ. Nor for his unique vicarious rôle. The closest approach we can find in the Old Testament to a divine saviour is the idea of the Messiah who would be a man chosen of God, but not of a divine incarnation. Thus in the Psalms, for example, the emphasis is on that of representation and adoption rather than incarnation. Again, although the idea of a vicarious relation was not completely unknown to Israel as evidenced by the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53, and Abraham's intercession for

⁴ cf. K. Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, E.T., IV/1, p. 166.

Sodom (Gen. 18:23 ff.), yet this concept was of limited scope being restricted to men acting on behalf of men. That God should in His own person realize His purpose for men was not grasped, and Israel as a whole was unprepared for a Saviour who came, 'humbling himself to be the brother of man, to take His place with the Transgressor, to judge him by judging Himself and dying in his place.'⁵ Throughout the Old Testament the tendency of Israel's thought, for many good reasons it may be said, was to emphasize the distinction of God from man and nature. God acted in and through man and nature, but neither contained God.

Therefore, although the Incarnation is but one element in God's redemptive purpose, yet it is a vital 'moment' in that process which shows both the continuity of the New Covenant with the Old, and also its uniqueness over against the latter. For in the Incarnation we see a bridge thrown across the gulf which separated God from man in the person of Jesus Christ. The Incarnation therefore, which reached its fulfilment in the Atonement and Resurrection, gave to sinful men a new and living way to God.

Israel, therefore, were a people elected by God for the salvation of all, but who rejected it except for one member of that nation—Jesus Christ—so that He became the one elected for the salvation of all mankind. The Incarnation therefore happened not simply to express truth about God, but to deal with sin—to enter in and overcome the contradiction of man. It meant laying hold of man in his low estate⁶ so that he might be taken up into the fellowship of God by the atoning action of Jesus Christ. This is important, for when men see the suffering caused by sin and Man's estrangement from God there arises a temptation to think of the Incarnation as happening to deal with this suffering, but it is vital to grasp firmly the truth that Incarnation took place to deal with sin, the heart of the matter, and not suffering. For it was not suffering that truly characterized the situation into which Jesus Christ entered when the 'Word became flesh', but sin and liability to temptation. It is also important to remember that we must not regard the apparent continuity of the life of Christ—pre-existent, earthly, and exalted—as natural and inevitable. For in His earthly life there was always the 'possibility' of a break, for it was existence under the conditions of temptation. Showing that God was willing to go to the utmost for us, for Jesus Christ, like us, was open to temptation, being 'at all points tempted like as we are.'⁷

In the Incarnation we see God's infinite love seeking out the humanity that had turned its back on Him and disobeyed Him. We see in the Incarnate life of Jesus how He judges that sin, condemns it, but bears Himself the punishment that condemnation brings and brings man into personal relationship with God the

⁵ cf. K. Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, E.T., IV/1, p. 157.

⁶ Heb. 2:16.

⁷ Heb. 4:15.

Father again. This was possible because, 'God was in Christ' reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them.'⁸ For God utters his righteous and eternal 'No' to sin, and then it takes on the objective character of guilt, and a situation ensues in which man cannot get himself out of the impasse caused by his disobedience and sin. In this desperate situation only God can take man's place and deal with his sins completely and finally-once-and-for-all. But God has to really enter into the human situation and a decisive event happen. Not, it seems to me, in the way that Professor Bultmann looks at it, 'By Christ there has been created nothing more than the possibility of which does, of course, become an assured actuality in those that believe.'⁹ But as K. Barth sees it, which seems to be Biblical and in keeping with our experience: 'Why did the Son of God become man, one of us, our brother, our fellow in the human situation? The answer is: In order to judge the World. But in the light of what God has actually done we must add at once: In order to judge it in the exercise of His Kingly freedom to show His grace in the execution of His judgment, to pronounce us free in passing sentence, to free us by imprisoning us, to ground our life on our death, to redeem and save us by our destruction. That is how God has actually judged in Jesus Christ. And that is why He humbled Himself. That is why He went into the far country as the Obedient Son of the Father. That is why He did not abandon us, but came amongst us as our brother. That is why the Father sent Him. That was the eternal will of God and its fulfilment in time—the execution of this strange judgment. If this strange judgment had not taken place there would be only a lost world and lost men.'¹⁰

Pondering on these facts we realize that the Chalcedonian formula which states that in the one Person of Christ we have two distinct natures, the divine and the human, is fundamental as a theological starting point of any attempt to understand Christ's atonement in terms of the Incarnation. For the atoning act of Christ only becomes meaningful for us as human beings if the man of Christ was integral, and in the Divine act of atonement it is Jesus as Man who is reconciling us to God, the One for the Many.

Dr. Barth makes this point concisely and clearly in the following words. Commenting on John 1:14, 'And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father), full of grace and truth,' he writes, 'If we put the accent on flesh we make it a statement about God. We say—and in itself this constitutes the whole of what is said—that without ceasing to be true God, in the full possession and exercise of His true Deity, God went into the far country by becoming man in His second Person or mode of being as the

⁸ 2 Cor. 5:19.

⁹ R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, E.T., Vol. I, p. 252.

¹⁰ K. Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, E.T., IV/1, p. 222.

Son—the far country not only of human creatureliness, but also of human corruption and perdition. But if we put the accent on “Word” we make it a statement about man. We say—and again this constitutes the whole of what is said—that without ceasing to be man, but assumed and accepted in his creatureliness and corruption by the Son of God, man—this one Son of Man—returned home to where he belonged, to His place as true man to fellowship with God, to relationship with His fellows to the ordering of His inward and outward existence, to the fullness of His time for which He was made, to the presence and enjoyment of the salvation for which he was destined.¹¹

Calvin, earlier, also saw that we could only understand Christ's atonement in terms of the Incarnation. Holding that we are nothing in ourselves, but something only in Christ, Calvin worked out Biblically the vital chain that linked men to Christ. Like Drs. Barth and Brunner, Calvin saw that the dreadful tyranny of sin has both an objective character in God's holy repudiation of it, and a subjective aspect in man's consequent guilt. Therefore a reconciling Mediator must be such that he makes possible a re-union wholly from the side of God and wholly from the side of man. Hence this Mediator must be Incarnate. He must be both true God and true man.

Calvin shows clearly that Atonement as a High Priestly action is linked firmly with the Incarnation and goes on to draw out from his study of Christ's priestly ministry as found in Pauline Epistles the truth that ‘in Christ’ means the same as ‘Christ for us.’ Therefore to say with Hebrews that we have in Christ a High Priest touched with the feeling of our infirmities, is similar to saying with Paul, ‘But God commendeth his own love toward us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.’¹² Arising out of this, Calvin pointed out, is a secondary meaning which is contingent upon the first, but the true understanding of the first depends upon the existence of the second, namely ‘Christ in us’ or faith. These must be held closely together as this faith, which is given to the believer by virtue of what Christ has done for him, enables him to participate and identify himself with the once-for-all deed.

Calvin shows how in order to understand that in Christ we died, were judged, rose again, and ascended into heaven, we must look at and ponder on the office of Christ as High Priest and the Old Testament understanding of the High Priest as Mediator. In Israel when the High Priest entered into the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement, to sprinkle the blood of the sacrifice on the mercy seat in intercession, he was considered to be the representative of the people and therefore the whole of Israel entered with him. He was considered the one person who could step beyond the veil into the presence of God on behalf of the people of Israel. This was a liturgical function, which, when conceived in the

¹¹ K. Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, E.T., IV/2, pp. 20-21.

¹² Rom. 5:8.

right way, was a response to the covenant Word of God. However, the history of the priesthood in Israel is one where the sacrificial ceremony became exalted in its own right and ceased to be a responsive witness to the covenant Word of God. This is to be seen especially in the post-exilic Torah when a stiff and very formal legalism set in, which not only continued the separation between the Word and the atoning sacrifice, but provided a shelter against God's righteousness behind which sinful man could hide.

It was into these particular historical circumstances in Israel that the Son of God was born and became one with us and the true High Priest; breaking through this sin-laden legalism and as our Mediator standing before the mercy seat, the One for the many, and returning to us with the words, 'peace be unto you.' For in that Jesus was born of a woman under the law, the eternal truth and righteousness of God-in-Christ broke through the curse and bondage of the law, and restored the unity between God's Word and the liturgical sacrifices, for they were offered in the person of God's Son—the Word made flesh. As the true High Priest he performed a once-for-all sacrifice.

Thus the Incarnate Christ is our High Priest and in His priestly work the transgressions of sinners are not imputed against them for Christ was one with them in and through His Incarnation. Yet, although Incarnation is by its very nature Atonement, it was necessary for man to see what God in Christ was doing, and yet, as we have seen, this, because of man's estrangement from God and his sin and guilt, was not possible. So that in the movement of grace another 'moment' occurs, that of Atonement. God-in-Christ does what man could not do himself, and took upon Himself as God-man the consequences of sin. The union of Incarnation and Atonement therefore constitutes a substitutionary act which opened up the way for man out of his impasse—through the Incarnation, in which God became one with us and declared His solidarity with us; through the Atonement in which Christ entered into the very heart of man's estrangement and stood in the breach man had made between him and God. This breach was so great that as Dr. Mackintosh puts it, 'By His Gospel of forgiveness the Father implicitly declares to us not only that sin rests under His condemnation, but that nothing achievable by the sinner can ever make it good. It is something so real and dark that only three modes of Divine treatment are possible—to judge it, to bear it in sacrificial love, to forgive it freely.'¹³ That is what Christ did for us, substituting Himself for us so that we are reconciled and justified only by and through the blood of Christ, so that we have no rights in ourselves for these were done away with by Christ substituting Himself on the Cross for us. It is Christ's perfect obedience and faithfulness on the cross that worked out our propitiation delivering us from our bondage to sin; and that was made possible by His perfect identification with us at the Incarnation; but also because His humanity was with His

¹³ H. R. Mackintosh, *The Christian Experience of Forgiveness*, p. 120.

Divinity. For it was God who was historically in Christ that made atonement possible for man could not do it.

I come now to my final point which Professor Emil Brunner deals with effectively in *The Mediator* and which has special import for India, that of the importance of the Incarnation and Atonement as witnessed to in the New Testament actually happening in history. Professor Brunner shows that God being in Christ is only fully relevant if Christ historically 'was', although he makes it abundantly clear that the Incarnation and Atonement are far more than the events to which a secular historian can point to. As Professor Brunner puts it, 'That God comes, that He comes to *us*, means that He Himself really and actually meets us as we are. This is why He comes down to our level, that He may really meet with us. *Nostra assumpt* . . . That it is God who really meets us, and that He really meets with us means the same thing. He meets us at the point where we become "real", that is, where we stand before Him naked, stripped of all illusions and coverings or masks, with nothing to shield us from His gaze.'¹⁴ This did happen and is happening in History, it is no mere possibility, and because it did happen reconciliation was accomplished for us, and ultimately, as we meditate upon this, our only true response is to fall down on our knees and worship Him who lived, died and was raised up again on our behalf.

¹⁴ P. 452.

Book Reviews

The New English Bible : A Translation into Current English.

In 1961, 'Bible Year', in the course of which Christians of many countries will mark the 350th anniversary of publication of the Authorized Version of the Bible, one date will have particular importance. On Tuesday, 14th March, will be published a completely new translation into current English of the New Testament—first part to appear of *The New English Bible*.

What distinguishes it from other translations made in our time? Above all, that it was undertaken jointly by the major Christian Churches (other than Roman Catholic) of the British Isles, and is the work of a group of distinguished scholars appointed by those churches. In two senses, therefore, it bears an authoritative stamp.

Other translations which have had the collective support of the Churches, in Britain or in the United States, have been revisions of the Authorized or King James Version. Indeed, the King James Bible itself, authoritative as it was, was based upon previous versions. The New English Bible is different from all others in that it is a completely new translation, by a representative body of scholars, put in hand by Church authorities.

A translation of the whole Bible—Old Testament and Apocrypha are to follow—*The New English Bible* attempts to present, in the language of today, the true meaning of the texts as understood by modern scholarship. The English used is clear and natural—not self-consciously modernistic. In seeking to make a faithful rendering, the translators took account of a great increase, since the 1881 Revised Version of the New Testament, in our store of knowledge. None of the original manuscripts survives, but manuscript copies have been found of much earlier date than those that were available to the Revisers. Textual criticism has advanced, enlarging our knowledge of the Greek language as it was in the time of Christ, and telling us more surely than before which texts are the most accurate and reliable. As well as ancient manuscripts of the New Testament in Greek, the New English Bible translators allowed for the evidence of early translations into other languages than English, and of quotations from the New Testament by early Christian writers.

The nineteenth century Revisers worked under instructions to make as few alterations as possible and to express them as far as they could in the language of the Authorized and earlier English versions. By contrast, *The New English Bible* is not only

a new translation, but employs contemporary English idiom to express the meaning of the Greek.

The New English Bible, of course, is not intended to replace, but rather to supplement the Authorized Version. Why then is a new translation needed?

Part of the answer was given in a memorandum circulated to other United Kingdom Churches, soon after the war, by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. It said :

In the urgent task of evangelism, one main difficulty of the Church is the difference between the language customarily used by the Church, and English as currently spoken. This difficulty is closely related to the language of the Authorized Version.

Whilst fully recognizing the excellence of the A.V. the General Assembly feels that the A.V. is becoming unable to fulfil its function because of its seventeenth-century language. Many words current in 1611 have become archaic, many have changed their meanings. The general style and even syntax have changed, with the result that young people with only an elementary education find a great deal of the A.V. incomprehensible. Chaplains to the Forces, and teachers, as well as ministers, find that valuable time has to be spent in explaining the meaning of the Bible's words. There is a further danger that archaic language may give the impression that the message itself is out of date and irrelevant. This is especially deplorable since the New Testament was written in the 'common' language of the time.

There had earlier—even before the war—been discussion in the universities on the need for a further revision of the English Bible. A small number of Oxford and Cambridge scholars was invited, by the Oxford and Cambridge University Presses, to prepare experimental renderings of certain Biblical passages. The basis was that changes in the Authorized Version should be made only to secure a true rendering of the original. But before long, some of the scholars engaged in the work became convinced that an approach more drastic than that of another revision was called for.

The war meant suspension of these activities, but in 1946 came the initiative of the Church of Scotland. Its proposal of a conference of the Churches, to consider the making of a completely new translation of the Bible, was accepted. The conference agreed upon the need, and a Joint Committee of the Churches was set up. It was represented by the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, the Methodist Church, the

Congregational Union, the Baptist Union, the Presbyterian Church of England, the Churches in Wales, the Churches in Ireland, and the Society of Friends. Representatives of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the National Bible Society of Scotland, also sit on the Joint Committee. The duties, and the financial obligations, of publishing the work were entrusted to the two University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge.

The present Chairman is the Bishop of Winchester, the Right Reverend Dr. Alwyn Williams.

Scholars of several denominations and from a number of British universities were appointed to the work of translating the New Testament. No part of the translation can be properly attributed to any one scholar : it was a co-operative effort to which all contributed, pooling their knowledge and reaching agreement at a series of meetings. In the course of 13 years' work, the translators held 57 meetings, the average length of each meeting being three days. Chairman of the New Testament translation panel was the Reverend Professor C. H. Dodd, one of the most eminent living New Testament scholars. He is also General Director of The New English Bible undertaking as a whole. A separate panel of literary advisers examined the drafts and helped the translators to maintain the stylistic quality of the whole.

The new translation of the New Testament will be published in two editions : a Library edition, with full translators' notes, at 21s. net, and a Popular edition, with a minimum of notes, at 8s. 6d. net. The books have been produced at the University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge, the Popular edition on a new high-speed rotary press. Publication will be simultaneous throughout the world. In the United States, the two Presses are publishing a special American edition. It seems certain that several hundred thousand copies will be in the world's bookshops at publication. No less probable is it that from pulpits in places of worship, throughout the English-speaking countries, opinions on The New English Bible will be expressed on the Sunday after publication.

Unchallenged, at least, will be the statement that this new translation is not the expression of any denominational or doctrinal leaning, but is offered simply as the Bible to all who in reading, teaching or in worship may care to use it.

Hebrew Thought compared with Greek : by Thorlief Boman. (London: S.C.M.). 1960. Pp. 224. Price 21s. English translation by Jules L. Morrow.

This extremely fascinating book is the result of the penetrating study of a ripe scholar. It is one of the volumes of the International Library of History and Doctrine series whose aim is to enable scholars to answer questions about the development of the Christian tradition which are important for the understanding of Christianity today. The author has succeeded remarkably in this aim and it is clear that this book has come to be accepted

as a standard volume by the fact that it has already run three editions in German and has also been translated into Japanese and other languages. In this careful and concentrated study Dr. Boman compares the salient features of Hebrew and Greek thought and shows by copious illustrations from Platonic as well as Old Testament literature that while the Greek idea is static the Hebrew one is dynamic; while the former thought is based on spatial considerations, the latter is on temporal conceptions; while the one is logical thinking, the other is psychological understanding; while the Greek developed the sense of sight, the Hebrew used the faculty of hearing to interpret reality. Says the author, 'Rest, harmony, composure, and self-control—this is the Greek way; movement, life, deep emotion, and power—this is the Hebrew way.'

According to Dr. Boman, those who call Hebrew thought primitive have not understood fully its significance or value. To the author, the Greek and the Hebrew ways of thinking are 'two possible and equally necessary reactions to one and the same reality.'

So this study throws a flood of new light on the subject and the student of the Bible is helped very much. Very often the student finds an enigma in the fact that the Old Testament throws more light than Greek lexicons on the study of Greek words of the New Testament. The author not only gives a satisfactory explanation of this riddle but supplies us a formula which even the student, who is uninitiated in the mysteries of meaning formation of words in ancient languages, can use with profit and so come to understand and appreciate the deeper philosophical and theological implications of these concepts. The author does full justice to the respective genius of these two great races that have contributed to the progress of humanity and helps us by easy steps to understand and appreciate their greatness. At the same time he shows us the limitations of these wonderful cultures and points out that the peculiarity of their thinking is due to their physiologically conditioned concepts. The Hebrew specialized his hearing process while the specialization of the Greek was one of sight. Naturally both are one-sided and each requires the other to supplement and complement him. Hence arises the challenge to the twentieth-century student. He says as 'their cultural successors and heirs, we can pay them no greater homage than to attend equally to both heritages, to protect them, and, if possible, to find a synthesis between them just as we try in our own lives to make the most of all the five senses if we could understand reality and have a thorough grasp of all of it.'

While the author's efforts are to understand Biblical literature, his studies have thrown a good sidelight on the problem of modern epistemology. He finds that the Kantian theory of knowledge is modelled on static nature of reality as conceived by Plato and other Greek philosophers and the Hebraistic method of interpreting reality is seen in Henri Bergson to whom reality is dynamic and temporal. An attempted synthesis between these

two lines of thought 'can possibly offer a contribution toward illuminating a problem which atomic physics has posed to contemporary epistemology' since it has often been brought to the notice of scientists that the findings of atomic physics are complimentary, i.e. they cannot be correctly described without resorting to expressions which are logically irreconcilable.

The book is written in a plain and lucidly clear style and the author does not require from his readers much linguistic equipment. So this book is highly recommended as an indispensable addition not only to the library of pastors and theologians but also to everyone who would understand the relevance of the Bible for today.

R. D. IMMANUEL

The Scope of Demythologizing: by J. Macquarrie. S.C.M. Press. 25s.

Any original thinker who breaks away from traditional lines of thought inevitably produces misunderstanding, and when he is thinking about matters connected with the Christian Faith, it is regrettable that so often the misunderstanding results in very unchristian criticism, and often abuse. His line of thought becomes so obscured by clouds of prejudice that it is very difficult to be clear about his contribution and its value. It is at this point that such a thinker needs an interpreter, since he is rarely able to put himself in such a position that he can clarify the issues, and disperse the clouds. Professor Bultmann has found such an interpreter in Dr. Macquarrie, and he is fortunate in the incisiveness and clarity of his interpreter's thought and style.

The book begins with a parable of a motorist descending a steep hill, at the foot of which is a precipice, and suddenly, almost on the verge of disaster, turning sharply away to take a new direction which presumably is safe. Dr. Macquarrie then deals with the critics who argue either (a) that Bultmann ought never to have started down the hill in the first place, or (b) that the precipice was not really a precipice, and that if he had stuck to his course he would have arrived at safety anyway. Dr. Macquarrie himself believes that the abrupt change of direction was right, but the reader is at liberty to question whether the new road, though perhaps not quite so abrupt, may not also carry the motorist into the abyss!

The author, in defence of Bultmann, makes quite clear two points, first that it is vital that the Church should make the Christian Faith clear in terms of contemporary thought, and that this is what Bultmann is trying to do, and secondly that it is equally vital that the central core of the Gospel should be preserved, and that this too is what Bultmann is trying to do. The first part of the book deals with the critics who claim that Bultmann has not achieved his second aim of preserving the core of the Gospel, and the second part deals with those who claim

that he has not achieved his first aim because of his reservations. It is brought out quite clearly that many of the criticisms of the two opposing types cancel each other out, and therefore suggest that Bultmann has in fact succeeded in maintaining the due balance of his two aims. Yet the author has not completely dissipated the suspicion that the incongruity remains.

The stumbling-block to the Gospel in India has so often been the 'scandal of particularity' that any attempt to remove this whilst maintaining the core of the Gospel must clearly appeal to Indian thought. That salvation should depend on an event which happened nearly two thousand years ago in a minor dependency of the Roman Empire is intolerable not only to those whose pride in their own tradition is like Naaman's, or whose contempt for the past rivals the late Henry Ford. Whilst existentialist philosophers differ about their conception of history, their emphasis inevitably tends towards a 'subjectivism' which denudes the term 'historical fact' of any meaning in the ordinary sense in which it is used, and in terms of which Christianity has been described as an Historical Religion. It is the perception of this which has caused Bultmann, in the terms of the author's parable, to make his abrupt turn away from the precipice, so that the limit of demythologizing, which defines its scope, is marked by the Cross.

The most valuable part of the book is perhaps Dr. Macquarrie's discussion of Bultmann's conception of Modernity which raises a fundamental question of communication, applicable not only to Bultmann's particular problem of making the Gospel clear to modern man, but of making the Gospel clear to any man. Bultmann has accepted St. Paul's principle of being all things to all men—a principle which must be definitive for every preacher of the Gospel—but it is still not clear whether the principle has been applied in the right way, and whether it will in fact save some. The book ends, quite rightly, with the question still unanswered, but for this very reason it is a very valuable contribution to the discussion.

D. F. HUDSON

A Dictionary of Life in Bible Times: by W. Corswant. Hodder and Stoughton. 25s. net.

Particular thought-forms relating to various aspects of life, experiences, customs and institutions are characteristic of every age, generation and land. In order to study and understand these the student needs to look at them through these thought-forms, lest he should get only a partial understanding of them. *A Dictionary of Life in Bible Times* places before the student of the Bible short, effective and simple essays relating to (but not entirely covering) life in general depicted in the Bible in modern language, which richly reveals the thought-forms of Biblical times.

This work is indeed more than a dictionary, it is a series of articles and essays given in a lexicographical order and style. Avoidance of over-technical language, remarkably appropriate illustrations, reasonably comprehensive references, exuberance of thought and clarity of language are some of the qualities of this useful book.

It looks as though Professor Corswant did not desire to add to the already over-packed library of existing Bible dictionaries, concordances and commentaries ; so he carefully omits treatment of subjects on which information is already available, such as history, geography and theology (even though indirect treatment of these disciplines is inevitable as they are closely related to life in general of Bible times) and treats subjects like personal, cultural, social and religious life of the time, on which not much information is available. Hence the student will find the articles and essays most illuminating and instructive. I do not think that the author meant this work to be exhaustive even in the field of subjects he seeks to cover. This is both the merit and weakness of the book.

The wealth of archaeological information of Biblical times is another useful feature of the book. Archaeological discoveries of the present century have thrown a great deal of light on the social, religious and cultural life of the people of Biblical times and the author after scholarly study and personal observation makes lavish use of that knowledge which puts at the disposal of the students information he could only otherwise gather from more expensive volumes.

So the ordinand, ordinary student and teacher of the Bible will find *A Dictionary of Life in Bible Times* a real boon, a substitute of which he will scarcely find.

*St. Paul's Cathedral
Calcutta*

J. POTHEN

Expounding God's Word : by Alan M. Stibbs. Published by London Inter-Varsity Fellowship, 39 Bedford Square, W.C.1. Pp. 112. Price 4s.

Today it is the common practice of preachers to use certain texts from the Bible—as 'pegs on which to hang a string of ideas' either of their own or collected from elsewhere, rather than bring out the meaning of those texts. It is also a temptation to preachers to preach not the 'whole Bible' or 'the Christ of all Scriptures', but to confine themselves to their favourite doctrines or books of the Bible. Again, preachers generally fail to relate Biblical doctrines to everyday life. For these reasons, it is sadly true that 'Biblical teaching and preaching in the congregations has become a forgotten practice and a lost art'.

To become an effective preacher one must first of all be firmly convinced that the Scriptures have a message for all men today

in whatever circumstances they may be and be willing to discipline oneself to communicate it effectively. During the week one must make deliberate, concentrated, sustained, varied, frequently renewed attempts fully to understand the meaning of the text which is to be expounded on Sunday. Each sermon to be preached must be planned in advance and related to the specific occasion. Above all, one must give oneself to continual prayer and meditation, if one should fulfil this ministry faithfully. Sermons, the author remarks, must be of all kinds, theological and doctrinal, devotional and eschatological.

In chapters V, VI and VII the author illustrates the methods of expounding Scriptural narratives, Scriptural statements, and longer Scriptural passages respectively. He shows how some passages of Scripture must be interpreted by others, how the Old Testament is anticipating the New, and how the New Testament is fulfilling the Old. The author reminds preachers of their responsibility to teach people that they may understand how 'Biblical truths concern both their daily life and eternal welfare' and to bring them 'continually into the light, and under the judgment of the God-given Word'.

Both ordained ministers and lay-preachers would richly benefit by the book.

Tamilnad Theological College

L. GNANADURAI

An Expository Preacher's Notebook: by D. W. Cleverly Ford.
Hodder and Stoughton. Pp. 220. Price 12s. 6d.

The book is an answer and a challenge to the minister of the Gospel. It does not give ready-made answers to the problems faced by the pastor, but offers him guidance. In the three sections of the book are included sermons based on themes contained in the Old and the New Testaments and a collection of individual sermons. Many of them are based on the Scripture passages for Sundays. They are carefully prepared full sermons, not mere outlines. The sermons are all expository, and the author rightly stresses the importance of that way of preaching. The ones he includes maintain a high quality, so that they are adequate to satisfy the scholar, inspire the saint, and challenge the sceptic. In showing that a pastor can make use of all his critical study of the Bible, and still preach inspiringly, the author deserves special commendation.

The fruit of many years of pastoral and preaching experience, the work is very illuminating and may unhesitatingly be recommended to every preacher of the Word of God.

Serampore College
Serampore

K. V. MATHEW

Key Next Door and Other City Temple Sermons: by Leslie D. Weatherhead. London. Hodder and Stoughton. Price 15s.

This book contains twenty-five sermons of the great preacher and writer, Dr. Leslie D. Weatherhead. These were sermons preached towards the close of his twenty-four years of ministry at the City Temple, London.

Some of the sermons are doctrinal, namely the one entitled 'The Robe of Christ' which deals with the doctrine of 'Justification by Faith'. Some deal with practical problems faced by many modern men and women in cities. To this group belongs the sermon on 'The Problem of Loneliness'. There are others which take up the relevance of the Christian faith—'If God is love, why should there be so much suffering in the world?' Doctrines and problems are treated with characteristic lucidity. Illustrations from science, arts, current events and ancient practices make the sermons effective and attractive. Above all, the sermons relate the message to everyday life. Practical suggestions are given, by which the readers can benefit.

The book may be recommended highly to both clergy and laity.

Tirumaraiyur
Nazareth

L. GNANADURAI

Dr. Ida, the Story of Ida Scudder of Vellore: by Dorothy Clarke Wilson. Hodder and Stoughton. Pp. 350. Price 21s.

This book is the life story of the woman who created the legend of Vellore, an enterprise for promoting medical education with forty-two missions co-operating. The author, an accomplished writer, must have sifted a mass of material consisting of private diaries, proceedings of missionary societies, and anecdotes in preparation for this biography which will have the pride of place in the missionary biographies of all times.

The narrative, rich in episodes, moves steadily forward through many lights and shades till the climax is reached in the founding of the Christian Medical College—a co-educational institution. In founding the Medical College and Hospital, Dr. Scudder had to battle against various difficulties: against Hindu and Muslim superstitions, against narrow denominational interests and against a powerful team of women in high places who argued that 'Vellore' was for women only. Ida Scudder is presented throughout, not merely as a missionary stalwart but as an ordinary Christian woman with a simple devotion to our Lord, determined to deny Him nothing. It is as if to underline this fact that the author keeps bringing before the reader the person of Mr. Burchfield Milliken who loved Ida Scudder when she was a student and wanted to marry her.

The discriminating reader will not fail to be struck by the following points in the life of Ida Scudder.

1. The meaning of the missionary vocation: Dr. Ida did not wish to be a doctor and much less a missionary doctor. She wanted to live like any other woman desiring marriage, home and children. But it was in response to an inward call that she went to a medical college and studied medicine. It was in obedience to that call to become a medical missionary in India that she with a wrench of heart said 'no' to the suit of Burchfield Milliken; and it was in fulfilment of her vocation that she laboured in the cause of healing in Vellore and its environs. Missionary vocation is most exacting. Dr. Scudder's life illustrates the differences between philanthropy and vocation. Human compassion as a real incentive to self-forgetting service is inadequate and unreliable. Human moods are subject to change. Dr. Ida will no doubt be hailed as a great philanthropist. But that is only half the truth. Her biography shows that the basis of her selfless service is to be traced to her single-hearted devotion to Lord Jesus Christ. Her vision for Vellore and the power which enabled her to translate that vision into reality are derived from her deep spiritual life. She taught Bible every week to her medical students and trained them in ways of prayer.

2. Missionary zeal: Not long ago Indian political leaders were talking a great deal about missionary zeal. They were moaning that there were not enough social workers in India who would work with 'missionary zeal'. They admired and envied the missionaries (whom they also maligned) who pegged away at their tasks undiscouraged by obstacles and setbacks. Will they ever realize that missionary zeal is the expression of a consecrated personality? It is his awareness that he is working for the extension of the rule of God in the affairs of men which enables the missionary to overcome self-interest on the one hand and discouragement on the other. The secret of the many-sided personality of Dr. Ida is that she is a servant of the Gospel—not merely a warm-hearted American philanthropist.

3. Political-minded non-Christians are puzzled at the phenomenon of Christian missions. They cannot understand why talented missionary men and women risk their lives for Christ in the far-off mission fields. They do not know why missionary societies of Europe and America pour millions of rupees steadily into India for Christian service. Let the biography of Dr. Ida Scudder furnish the answer.

*Bishop's College
Calcutta*

E. SAMBAYYA

Editorial Notes

An Indian Christian Theological Conference: The fourth Indian Christian Theological Conference, organized under the auspices of the Board of Theological Education of the National Christian Council, met at the Gurukul Lutheran Theological College, Madras, from 28th to 31st December, 1960. Convened by Dr. P. David, Principal of Gurukul, and presided over by Dr. P. D. Devanandan, Director of the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, the Conference took up for special study the general theme 'Christian View of Man in Society'. The Conference had an observer from the Roman Catholic Church in the Rev. Father P. De Letter, who observed that the attendance at the meeting was very instructive and stimulating.

A report of the Conference as well as two out of the seven papers read at it are published below. We hope to bring out the remaining papers also most probably in the next number.

One concrete outcome of the Conference was the formation of the Indian Christian Theological Association. Its draft constitution and an announcement about it by Dr. Herbert Jai Singh, the Secretary-Treasurer, are also printed below. We wish the Association every success.

The Birth Centenary of Rabindranath Tagore: From 8th May, 1961, the birth centenary of the renowned Indian poet is being celebrated with great éclat all over India and in many parts of the world. The winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913 and the founder of the Visva-bharati University, Santiniketan, Rabindranath Tagore has left behind him living memorials of his deserved eminence. He will continue to live not only in the great institution which he designed and founded, but also in the remarkable stream of his contributions to art, literature and philosophy. It is very fitting that the Indian nation has taken advantage of the one-hundredth anniversary of his birth to pay him tribute. We deem it a pleasant privilege to associate ourselves most heartily with the celebration.

The Bicentenary of the Birth of William Carey: 17th August, 1961, is the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of William Carey, the great missionary pioneer of the nineteenth century. Carey's illustrious life is a clear indication of how God does use a man, completely dedicated to His service.

Born in the Midlands of England on 17th August, 1761, Carey spent more than thirty years of his life in his native land and subsequently, out of a strong inner urge to preach the Gospel to the people of India, he left his own country and arrived in Calcutta

in 1793. In spite of variegated obstacles he remained ever since loyal to the call with which he believed he had been called. Guided by the motto, 'Expect great things from God; Attempt great things for God', he surrendered his life and everything he had to the service of the Lord Jesus Christ. In His marvellous providence God blessed his labours to the benefit of the Church as also of the Indian nation. As for the Church, besides the evangelistic work and the translation of the Bible into several Indian languages, he, with his associates, Marshman and Ward, founded the Serampore College, which later became the University College for Theology for the whole of India. As for the Indian nation, in addition to his recognized contribution to the Bengali literature, he was one of the chief figures, whose wholesome influence wielded itself in the areas of education and social reform. We are publishing below an article on 'William Carey and the Education of India' by Mr. M. A. Laird.

We humbly pay our most sincere tribute to the memory of that great soul and beg to associate ourselves with the celebration of the two-hundredth anniversary of his birth.

William Carey and the Education of India

M. A. LAIRD

I

William Carey and his colleagues Joshua Marshman and William Ward were deeply concerned with education of all kinds and at all levels. From the beginning of their work in Bengal they organized local vernacular schools; then in 1818 came Serampore College, and subsequently some girls' schools; meanwhile Carey himself was lecturing at Fort William College to the recruits for the East India Company's administrative service. They thus played an important part in disseminating that Western learning which was to have a revolutionary effect on the whole of Indian life, and it seems appropriate in this bicentenary year of Carey's birth to remember this work of the missionary community over which he presided.

Perhaps the most striking thing about these men is the variety of their interests and activities; besides education, they engaged in direct evangelization, printing, translation work, philology, and botany, in all of which they were among the pioneers in India. These things they loved for their own sakes; nevertheless they were undertaken only as a means towards the one great end which alone had brought them to Serampore—of converting India to Christ. Their diverse activities were all integrated into this work, which they pursued as instruments of The Lord in the fulfilment of His purposes. Education would obviously be a most useful means, as it has been at every stage of missionary activity. Through it they could influence future generations at the formative period of their lives; hence the almost immediate establishment of elementary schools. Serampore College was also intended partly for this purpose, but more especially for able children of Christian families, who could thus continue their education to the highest level in a Christian institution, and above all for the training of Indian ministers on whom the main task of the conversion of their compatriots would fall. Christian education, then, at all levels and for all sorts of men—a means of conversion to and confirmation in the Faith.

By 1816, therefore, the missionaries felt that their existing elementary education work should be much expanded, and Marshman wrote the pamphlet 'Hints Relative to Native Schools'

to secure the public's support. In this their views are expressed at length; Hinduism was in part responsible for the prevailing ignorance, and its inherent defects were aggravated by it. The Bengalis were ignorant of almost everything conducive to morality or intellectual and spiritual fulfilment: of the nature of God, ethics, history, geography, and science. The juxtaposition in a single list of both 'sacred' and 'secular' subjects tells us much in itself about the missionaries' ideas for them in 1816, before Lyall and Darwin had done their work, there was no conflict between religion and science. On the contrary, the study of Nature gave an insight into the ways of its Creator, while the Book of Genesis was an accurate textbook of the early history of the world. As God manifested himself openly in all branches of learning, the study of them would be an effective preparation for the Gospel; and just as theology was vindicated by science, so were ethics by experience. All this then was to be taught to Hindu children; a smattering of modern scientific knowledge, Christian theology and ethics—though not yet the Bible itself; too much of a good thing for these spiritual beginners. Christianity would be seen to be essentially reasonable, and in agreement with scientific truth as objectively verified; conversely, the inconsistencies of Hinduism would be clearly revealed. How could people continue to worship rivers and trees after they had been taught to regard them with the eye of a scientist?

If the conviction of the harmony between the sacred and the secular was the basis of the Serampore missionaries' philosophy of education, nothing can have discredited their ideal more than the conflict between the two which began in earnest in the following generation; the acid of science with which they proposed to corrode Hinduism was used with devastating effect upon their own faith. There is no passage in Marshman's 'Hints' pregnant with a more painful irony for the modern Christian than that in which he confidently asserts that the Hindus' faith in Rama would be undermined by their studies in history: how would they reconcile their belief that he lived for 11,000 years with their new 'knowledge' that the world itself had only existed since 4004 B.C.? The collapse of the old harmonies must have affected Serampore College's reputation in particular. Carey envisaged that the Christian learning of which it should become the centre (as the 'Christian Benares') would capture the best minds of India, and as long as theology remained in alliance with the dazzling developments of contemporary science and technology there is no reason why his hopes should not have been fulfilled; these things emanated from a Christian civilization, and presumably were in some way the consequences of its theology. Well might Carey emphatically disclaim (in the 1823 College Report especially) any design to make converts by coercion or by 'slanting' the syllabus: these methods were not only clean contrary to the Gospel, but quite unnecessary in any case; the Truth manifested in Christianity would be irresistible—all the College authorities need do was reveal it. Half a century later it was difficult for well-informed

people to share his confidence, and herein lies the fundamental problem for the Christian colleges in the present age.

II. ENGLISH OR VERNACULAR ?

The major controversy in which Carey became involved, however, was not so much on the ultimate value of Christian education as over the best medium of instruction. By 1816 it was at last generally agreed that the East India Company had some responsibility towards the education of its subjects ; the question was—how should this be discharged ? Broadly speaking there were three schools of thought ; the ‘ Orientalists ’, who wanted continued study of the Sanskrit classics for their own sake, through a Sanskrit medium ; the ‘ Anglicists ’, who wanted Western education in English ; and the ‘ Vernacularists ’, who wanted the same in the appropriate vernacular. The Serampore missionaries were among the leaders of the latter party. Marshman sets forth their reasons in the ‘ Hints ’—the vernacular medium would make it easier for the whole people to acquire education, and be conducive to social stability. ‘ The hope of imparting efficient instruction to [the people] . . . in a language not their own is completely fallacious.’ The Anglicists were mainly concerned to give an advanced education to a minority intelligentsia ; Carey and his colleagues, on the other hand, wished also to give elementary Western education as soon as possible to all the people, and they poured scorn on the notion of Bengali peasants learning the English language well enough, with the very limited opportunities at their disposal, for use as an instrument for acquiring even the smattering of general knowledge which they felt to be essential for altering their world-view. Marshman recalled the experience of Europe—how the Renaissance had leavened whole nations because it had come through the vernaculars rather than some language known only to the learned, and he believed that the same process could take place in India : the products of the vernacular schools would spread abroad this ‘ new learning ’ in their normal social intercourse. In addition, the very fact that it was given in the ordinary language of the people would indicate its relevance for them even as they continued to go about their everyday affairs ; thus the poorest peasant would realize that the marvels of modern science were at his own disposal for the improvement of his surroundings—not merely to be cultivated by pandits in an ivory tower peopled exclusively by fellow intellectuals. ‘ Instruction . . . should be such as to render the inhabitants of a country happy in their own sphere, but never to take them out of it ’ ; having learnt English, however, people ‘ would scarcely remain to till the ground, or to labour at any manual occupation ; they would therefore by their education be unfitted for the ordinary callings of life ’. Thus wrote Joshua Marshman, in 1816. Even at this early date Bengalis who had learnt a little English tended to gravitate to Calcutta in search of clerkships, and the Serampore missionaries never ceased to condemn the ‘ love of gain ’ which motivated

them, and which had already produced the problem of the educated unemployed. They therefore actively discouraged the learning of English in their schools, and even as far as the College was concerned they at first intended that only a 'select number' of students should embark on English—after they had mastered all available Sanskrit and vernacular works. Having thus proved himself a sincere and reliable student, he 'may by a thorough knowledge of English . . . open to himself the literature of the Western world, penetrate into the deepest recesses of Western science, and enrich his vernacular language with its choicest treasures'.¹ English, in other words, was to be the summit of educational achievement, attained only by a few, and merely in order to deepen and complete the education already acquired. A little English was a dangerous thing; it must be studied thoroughly, for its own sake, or not at all. And even so its importance would steadily decrease, for the missionaries translated many English books into Bengali, and looked forward to the day when all those 'choicest treasures' of English literature and science would be available in the vernaculars.

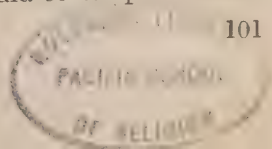
And yet in spite of these brave words we find in 1832 no less than 67 students, or over half the total number in the College, primarily engaged in studying English language and literature! The demand for an English education had grown so greatly that by now the triumph of the Anglicists, as far as higher education was concerned, was practically assured—1835, within Marshman's lifetime, saw the publication of Macaulay's famous Minute. Did this then represent merely the triumph of cupidity over the wide diffusion of the rudiments of sound learning for which the former had striven so hard? Partly no doubt; but J. C. Marshman, in *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward* (1859), points out that the missionaries had underestimated the real desire among many Indians to master English for its own sake, and he thought that Carey's grand design of subverting Hinduism was being accomplished in spite of the rejection of his methods—by an educated minority taking the new ideas from their source, rather than by a widespread diffusion of these ideas in the vernaculars. In 1859 it was possible to believe that the 'new learning' would in time filter down to everyone, but fifty years later it was apparent that these hopes had not been fulfilled. Instead all that had happened was the appearance of a new learned élite; English had taken the place of Persian or Sanskrit, and the gulf between the literate and the illiterate which Carey had tried to close was as wide as ever.

III. SANSKRIT AND MORALITY

However, if Carey differed with the Anglicists over the medium of instruction, they were at least agreed that it was

¹ Serampore College Prospectus, 1818.

Western education which India needed ; she should be revitalized by the ' new learning ' of Christendom. But with the Orientalists his dispute was quite fundamental ; Christ could not be discovered in the Sanskrit classics, and neither could true scientific principles. Yet paradoxically Carey spent a great deal of time collecting, translating and printing these same classics for whose spiritual content he had so little respect, and Sanskrit studies had to begin with the most prominent place in the syllabus of Serampore College. His motives shed much light on his purpose for the College ; it should be primarily for the training of Christians, ministers and laymen, to the highest standard, to enable them to give convincing accounts of their faith in their contacts with non-Christians. For this purpose they should know four things : their mother-tongue, Christian theology, the science and literature of Christendom, and Indian religions and culture ; thus they would be able to demonstrate Christian truth by well-informed comparisons between it and the faiths of their potential converts. Of these Carey was mainly preoccupied with Hinduism, to which Sanskrit was the key. Moreover, it would be a valuable aid to the mastery of Indian vernaculars, and it would have certain excellent intellectual and even moral by-products : its literature might be corrupting, but the study of the structure of the language itself was an invaluable mental discipline. The 1818 Report states ' The object is not to give [the students] a light smattering of things, which may tend to gender conceit . . . but to lay the foundation deep, to strengthen the mind by inuring it to real labour . . . ' and Sanskrit—inherently ' dry, severe and uninteresting '—was admirably suited for this purpose. So much so, in fact, that most of the early students failed to stay the course ! The pearls of wisdom offered by Serampore College were to be won only by hard work and self-discipline ; a successful student would need not only intellectual ability but moral integrity, too, both of which would be developed by the syllabus itself ; and so we return to that integral connexion between education and ethics which was at the heart of Carey's philosophy. Other subjects would also toughen moral fibres : science, besides encouraging Hindus to subdue rather than worship Nature, would teach that ideas and opinions should be based on facts, capable of objective verification, rather than prejudices, while mathematics would inculcate an unwonted precision of thinking and reasoning, and with it a new love of truth. Even the basic skills of reading and writing in the vernacular would be a salutary discipline. These were much emphasized as the foundations of all education ; just as Carey tried to insist on a mastery of Sanskrit before taking up English, so Bengali should be the prerequisite for all further study. He had the instincts of a good craftsman who made things genuine and sound and durable ; rather a select number of truly educated graduates than the large numbers with mere ' smatterings of things '. To these missionaries education was not just the learning of facts, valuable though these were ; it was a process of mental and spiritual discipline, which would so temper a man's



character and personality as to enable him to face anything. And for this purpose solid foundations were essential.

IV. ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

As far as elementary education was concerned, however, it was particularly important to make it attractive and obviously relevant to the pupils' environment. In the scheme worked out by Marshman in 1816 the fundamentals of modern knowledge and Christian ethics were boiled down into maxims—in 'compressed yet perspicuous' form—and illustrated by local references: thus 'The Earth is globular in size, somewhat like the *kudumba* fruit'. They were attractively printed in separate textbooks for the different subjects and despatched to the masters of the new schools, which became immediately popular—within two years they contained 8,500 pupils. The missionaries were particularly encouraged by the growing evidence of local people organizing such schools for themselves; they were always highly conscious that their work could only survive inasmuch as it was carried on by the Indian people. In their education work as in their direct evangelization the missionaries saw themselves merely as initiators; they brought the good seed to India, but only her own people could make it grow.

The maxims were copied down by the pupils and learnt by heart, and here the question is raised as to whether the missionaries were not merely perpetuating the system of meaningless rote-learning to which Indian indigenous education had degenerated by then, and which has bedevilled it ever since. Their major problem, which was never solved, was that most of the masters were quite unfitted to teach. They hoped to train them at Serampore, but there were never enough, and it was chiefly for this reason that several of the schools had to be closed after a few years. So the best they could do was to make their maxims self-explanatory as far as possible, and to trust that they would 'furnish [the pupil's] mind with a treasure of ideas, which, duly improved by reflection, might enable him hereafter to illuminate all around him'.² All the masters had to do was to dictate the maxims to the class. Thus Carey and his colleagues attempted to organize over a hundred schools scattered throughout Bengal from their desks at Serampore, by means simply of some printed textbooks and a few itinerant missionary superintendents. Education without teachers has normally only been successful when broadcast over the radio, and the means at Carey's disposal were no substitute for this.

Nevertheless enough Bengalis became literate to raise the problem of how to prevent their new-found skills from rusting away through disuse, and for this purpose Carey founded the vernacular magazines, *Dig Durshan* and *Somachar Durpun* (1818).

² First Report of the Institution for the Encouragement of Native Schools for India, 1817.

Vernacular literature hardly existed at all at this time, and in any case the new literates required reading-matter simple in form and expression and on subjects which could be readily understood. Material for the articles was therefore specially selected and rewritten, with the intention that it should be at once entertaining, useful, and—needless to say—morally uplifting ; the new literacy was not to be misused. They thus gave practice in reading, spread modern knowledge, and continued the process of education on foundations already laid, and as they were cheap and attractively printed they soon built up a wide circulation. They were a landmark in the history of both education and journalism in Bengal ; and the contrast between the purpose of these papers and that of subsequent enterprises in popular journalism needs no emphasis here.

V. CONCLUSION

For Carey and his colleagues, then, elementary education meant literacy and the fundamentals of Western knowledge and Christian morality : rudimentary education for the masses, attractive, useful, cheap—and ultimately revolutionary. To the College, quite other considerations applied : it provided an exacting study of the highest realms of Christian learning. And if all could profit by the former, the high standards of the latter could be obtained only by the few. Even within the field of education, then, the width of Carey's concern is remarkable, and in addition to all this there was the pioneering work of the Serampore community for the education of girls. This was undertaken both for their own sake—to free them from ignorance and degradation—and also because they realized that Christianity would never triumph in India unless the women came into direct contact with it. Then, in his concern for the mind and spirit of Bengal, Carey did not forget the body, which needed similar expert nurture and treatment ; hence his plan—which never materialized—for a medical department at Serampore. Finally, who can tell the extent of his influence on the future administrators of India during the generation in which he lectured at Fort William College ? During his residence at Serampore there was a revolution in the attitude of the Government, which came to accept the responsibility, in theory and to some extent in practice, of improving the lot of its Indian subjects, mainly through education. So far from quenching the missionary spirit it had itself been infected by it, and Carey, by his friendships with officials and successive Governor-Generals, probably played a considerable part in this process. In part it was a reflection of the Utilitarian movement in Britain ; Carey, too, believed in the possibility of Improvement, which he achieved first by a thorough investigation of the situation ; then by appealing to public opinion for support by speeches and pamphlets ; and finally by operating upon it through efficient planning and practical organizing ability, resting on sheer hard work and a refusal to become discouraged. But there is more to Carey than this.

In the College curriculum the traditional—and lengthy—method was at first adopted for Sanskrit studies, but after a few years it was altered, with the explanation that the original method was all very well for Hindu students at Nadia and Banaras who had nothing else to do ; but the young men at Serampore had no time to waste—for them the language was but a means to the great end of the conversion of India. This was typical of Carey ; all his faculties and his enterprises were integrated into his one purpose of doing God's will for India. Many of the Benthamite reformers were unattractive personalities ; their efficiency was beneficent, no doubt, but it seemed cold and heartless to some. But Carey was no machine ; he loved the people of Bengal, and he could bring them nothing better than his Lord.

Society and the Kingdom of God¹

REV. WILLIAM STEWART

I. BIBLICAL AND EARLY BACKGROUND

(a) *The Teaching of Jesus.* The Synoptic Gospels present us with the 'Gospel of the Kingdom' taking a central place in the teaching of Jesus, so much so that many scholars have believed that the proper understanding of the meaning of 'the Kingdom' is the only key to the significance of that Teaching. Clearly it must be read against the Old Testament background, where the Hebrew, believing that the Lord is King, longed for the day on which His reign would be open and universal. In later Judaism despair of the present world order had led to an apocalyptic interpretation which expected this to happen at a stroke, and which detected no link between the present order of things and the longed-for Kingdom.

The attempt of Weiss and Schweitzer to interpret the teaching of Jesus as wholly conditioned by this apocalyptic view has not established itself. Our Lord's ministry contains much which claims that the Kingdom in an effective sense has already dawned. Later in the New Testament this is still assumed. The Christian, living in this world, is yet a 'citizen of heaven'. This may help to explain the relative infrequency of references to the Kingdom outside the Gospels, for the Church is the new Israel, and it is to Israel that the Kingdom was promised. Those that are 'in Christ' are already introduced to spiritual treasures which belong to that citizenship, nor are these ever enjoyed in isolation. The *koinonia* in the primitive community, especially the reconciliation of Jew and Gentile in Christ, is the great new reality which marks the Church. There is still the note of longing, but the very love of the brethren is the token that they have passed from death to life. The Kingdom is present, realized in pardon, grace and joy, expressed in fellowship, and these are the foretaste of its fulfilment.

(b) *The Early Church.* While the New Testament contains a strong note of expectation, it also accepts the Gospel as having implications for daily life in society. Parents and children, masters

¹ Abridgement of a paper read at the Indian Christian Theological Conference held in Madras.

and slaves are to live out the new life here and now. The teaching of Jesus including a story like that of the Good Samaritan gave no excuse for withdrawal into a totally 'unworldly' life, and the pungent comments of both St. James and St. John show that the lesson was not forgotten. Christ now reigns at God's right hand, and, even if His reign is still hidden from the world, that is no reason why it should not be manifest in the Church, the body of which He is head.

Beyond the New Testament it continues to be assumed that the quality of Christian life should reflect the divine rule. 'See how these Christians love one another' was not originally said in scorn. A tiny, persecuted body might not be able greatly to influence society in general, but the social implications of the Gospel were manifest.

II. TYPES OF INTERPRETATION

Out of the varying conditions in which the Church has continued we note in the main four principal interpretations which have held the field. These are: (i) *Chiliasm*, or Other-worldliness, (ii) *Ecclesiasticism*, or the Church outside the world, (iii) *Christendom*, or the Church and the world, (iv) *The Social Gospel*, or the Claim on the world.

(i) *Chiliasm, or Other-worldliness*.—Like Jewish apocalyptic this is marked by despair of the world. The present order is to be wound up and the Kingdom ushered in at one blow. Holders of this view tend to renounce responsibility for a society which is doomed. Tertullian the Montanist exclaims: 'I have seceded from the populace.' Similar ideas have recurred in times of crisis and of corruption in the Church, and they continue till the present time with varying renunciation of responsibility for current society. Seventh-day Adventists throw the weight of their teaching on anticipation of the end, but have developed considerable social services. Jehovah's Witnesses, on the other hand, denouncing every earthly government and organized church as belonging to Satan, have tended to repudiate every loyalty in this world. Some groups, from the safety of their own countries, denounce all Christians in Communist countries who find any kind of *modus vivendi* with these régimes. The strength of such movements is in their confidence that the end is in the hand of God; their weakness is in the failure to link expectation with responsible living now.

(ii) *Ecclesiasticism, or the Church outside the world*.—This less negative interpretation sees the Kingdom as manifesting itself in the life of the Church, the secular world, on which judgement of varying severity is passed, being the area from which souls must be saved. A teacher like Origen sees man's spiritual life as lived within the world we know, though it may sometimes be called even the Kingdom of Satan.

The development of this theme owes much to St. Augustine's book, *The City of God*, which identifies the Kingdom squarely

with the Church. In the later Dark and Middle Ages this found expression in Monastic and other Orders, yet these, though withdrawn from society, did in fact do much to conserve values of culture and civilization in a barbaric period.

This view continued with the Reformers, though they avoided the identification of the Kingdom with an obviously imperfect organization by making full use of the idea of an 'invisible Church'. In Lutheran circles a sharp division between 'the two Kingdoms' of God and of the world, each indeed under God but without responsibility laid on the Church for the order of society, took strong hold. Consequently a combination of personal piety with ruthlessness in public affairs could be readily accepted. In other circles a like phenomenon appeared.

The Hitler régime posed the greatest challenge to this view. In that period we find a teacher like Karl Heim openly querying the possibility of the dichotomy between private and political morality which had been widely held. Men like Niemöller and Bonhoeffer felt compelled for Christian conscience' sake to intervene politically at risk of their lives. Today, though the dichotomy can still be found, it is noticeable that when, for instance, Billy Graham declined to comment on French atomic tests in the Sahara on the ground that this was a political question, his audiences in Ghana sharply declined.

(iii) *Christendom, or the Church and the world.*—The accession of Constantine introduced the optimistic view that the kingdoms of this world were becoming the Kingdom of God here and now. The picture reaches greater precision with Charlemagne, in the conception of 'Christendom' a society subject in all respects to the rule of God. It recalls an Old Testament idea of 'theocracy'. The precise relation between sacred and secular was the subject of considerable controversy. There were high moments for the Emperor, high moments also for the Papacy. But throughout there is a notable attempt to express an ideal of humanity as a single society, Church and State alike being Servants of God. Ideas like those of a 'just price' and attempts to curb the ferocity of war indicate the endeavour to discover a positive place for the kingdoms on earth.

After the Reformation such ideas continued, whether in the idea of the 'divine right of Kings' or in the 'godly magistrate' of Genevan teachings. They crossed the Atlantic where, in New England, men who had gone for their convictions believed it right to impose by iron law a standard of morality which they derived from Scripture. The idea continues in some lands with national recognition of the Church.

Attempts to impose godliness by the secular arm can have tragic results, for the corruption of power does not spare either the godly prince or the godly magistrate. The Spanish Inquisition, the rigidities of Geneva, Puritan New England teach the lesson in various ways. Yet the relation of Church and State had beneficial effects, too. The reign of Charlemagne meant enlightenment for his Empire, and Scotland owes its tradition of universal

education to the influence of the Reformed Church. 'Christendom' never becomes the Kingdom of God, yet the ideal was in many ways a noble one.

(iv) *The Social Gospel, or the Claim on the world.*—This interpretation reflects a quickened sense of duty among Christians to seek the improvement of social conditions, quite apart from whether or not the State is officially Christian. With the decline of the idea of 'Christendom' and the division between sacred and secular there was less sense of this responsibility in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the nineteenth century, however, men like Maurice and Kingsley pioneered a challenge to evil social conditions and answered protests by reminders of earlier Christian concern.

Common to this view is the conviction that the 'work of the Kingdom' is more than just the saving of individual souls. There are differences, however, in the extent to which this work is identified with the actual 'extension of the Kingdom'. Some have fully identified it, and this produces the language of 'building the Kingdom' familiar in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Others, less optimistic about human nature, have seen such work as rather the tokens of the work of the Kingdom, knowing that the Rule of God itself must be the work of God. These therefore know that there is not in improved social conditions any substitute for the life 'in Christ' and there is no substitute for the preaching of the Gospel. The social concern of the Christian, however, has proved of considerable influence even in non-Christian environments, even while men like Reinhold Niebuhr have helped Christians to recognize how far short their best efforts fall from establishing the Kingdom!

III. CONCLUSION

The fact that the early Church spoke less about the Kingdom than we find in the Gospels does not necessarily mean a falling away from true insights. We need to realize that what can be established through a human programme will be a human Kingdom and not God's. That social changes can usher in the Kingdom is an idea which founders on the fact that it is the actual person who has ultimate value, and each fresh generation must make its pilgrimage. One generation may hand on better or worse conditions than it inherited, but the living of a victorious personal life in society is the task of each generation. On this side of the *Parousia* it is vain to think of release from this task.

This is why the New Testament sees the token of the Kingdom's presence not in altered external conditions but in the *koinonia*, the new fellowship of love. We cannot with Augustine identify the Kingdom with the empirical Church, but it is within the Church that we are called to live the life of the Kingdom. Such a Church, however, cannot be self-regarding or self-sufficient. The laws of love compel us to a concern for our fellow-men in the context of society. Even where, as in India, Christians are a small

minority, the Christian citizen must bring to bear on social questions the insight and obedience which he learns from his Lord. Only, if our concern is deep enough, we shall know that this is no substitute for the proclaiming of the Gospel. The hope of the great missionary hymns is not based on a naïve optimism about human progress, it is rooted in the certainty that 'Jesus shall reign'. It is as the boundaries of the Church are extended and the Church increasingly conformed to His obedience, that even in this age a community grows in which men learn what it means to be citizens of a heavenly city, and are sustained and sent out to serve in the house of their pilgrimage.

Contemporary Forms of Society in the Light of the Christian Faith¹

P. DAVID

SCOPE OF THE PAPER

The aim or interest of the paper is not to study the forms of society as such but the anthropological assumptions back of these forms or structures. Even the anthropological questions will be raised from a theological standpoint and will be stated in the light of the Christian faith. The study will be just an outline forming a basis for discussion.

The fundamental forms of social structure that will be mentioned are Communism, Democracy, and Sarvodaya ; and back of all these is what is called Secularism. These forms of society or government do not consider it necessary to believe in God or in any supernatural existence. They are essentially anthropocentric and this-worldly.

SECULARISM

An attitude of secularism and relativism has invaded all areas of life in Church and Society. The fear of God or the idea of a hereafter has no reality to the secularist world. The creed of a secularist man is :

- ‘(1) Nothing can be believed unless it can be proved scientifically.
- (2) Human beings must rely wholly upon themselves and on one another in achieving maturity and fullness of life.
- (3) Science has accomplished so much already that we can expect it to help us solve all problems eventually.’

It is only proper that the Christian theologian shall take up this challenge and face it boldly but honestly. How does or should he interpret God to the secularist mind ? How should he interpret man to him ? What is the secularist understanding of *man* ?

¹ A paper read at the Indian Christian Theological Conference held in Madras.

COMMUNISM

From the Communist interpretation of historical development there follow certain inevitable conclusions. One class must fight against another class—*class conflict*. 'The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles . . . Our epoch, the epoch of the *bourgeoisie*, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps into two great classes directly facing each other—*bourgeoisie* and proletariat' (Marx and Engels: *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, 31, 32; quoted in *Communism and Christianity*, 20, 21). There should be *revolution*, and without a clash of arms there will be no redemption for the proletariat. Constitutional reforms and parliamentary democracy are only intended to avoid giving up power and profit and are hypocritical. Religion, law, and morality rationalize the inhuman activities of the capitalists and endeavour to dull and impede the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. The Communist accordingly adopts a *relativist attitude to morals*. Any activity that promotes the cause of the proletariat movement is to be executed even at the breach of what is ordinarily called law or morality—a good Hegelian principle of part yielding to the whole! Once the revolution succeeds and the proletariat is in power, they should ruthlessly persist the policy, using whatever means—violent or otherwise—of disorganizing and overthrowing the existing order of society culminating in the rise of a *Classless Society*. The Communist not only is relativistic in his attitude to morals and law, but he is avowedly atheistic. 'Religion is the sign of a heavy-laden creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of spiritless conditions. It is the *opium of the people*. The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is a prerequisite for the attainment of real happiness by the people . . . Thus the criticism of heaven is transformed into a criticism of earth, the criticism of religion into a criticism of law, the criticism of theology into a criticism of politics' (quoted in *Communism and Christianity*, 30).

'The inner contradiction of Marxism lies in its effort to create a society with human values when its whole philosophy gives a purely functional interpretation of man' (*Ibid.*, 65), 'But in its view of man's stature, it is forced to deny the depth of spirit in the structure of human personality. It is consequently unable to understand the real character of human evil' (Niebuhr: *Nature and Destiny*, I, quoted in *Communism and Christianity*, 65-66). Communism views man as self-sufficient and Christian faith understands him as sinner. Because it lacks a sense of sin, it reckons its tyranny as righteousness unto itself.

DEMOCRACY

Some people derive democracy from the principles of Christianity. 'Dr. G. P. Gooch points out that modern democracy

“was the child of the Reformation, which enunciated two principles; the rightful duty of free enquiry, which led straight from theological criticism to political criticism, and so to liberty, and the priesthood of believers, which led to equality” (quoted in *Communism and Christianity*, 77). Probably on this account some identify Christianity and democracy. However, as Dr. Loew says: ‘The relations between Christianity and democracy actually have been complicated rather than simple, and more often indirect than direct. Historians still are battling over the question whether or not the rise of democracy was dependent on Christianity and the truth seems to be that our free society developed through the interaction of both Christian and non-Christian forces’ (*Modern Rivals to Christian Faith*, 31). All these point to this: Democracy stands for freedom of thought, expression and enterprise; for equality and fraternity in social and economic living. Christian faith, as seen above, vouches for these and has preached and to some extent practised them in the Church; therefore Christianity is held to be the basis, and, in some cases the content, of democracy.

However, the Christian view of freedom and equality is peculiar. All are equal in the sense that God created them in His *image*, that men perverted God’s image and went according to their own way *estranged* from God’s, and that they all are objects of God’s grace. They are free in the sense that they can act according to their own way even opposing God’s, but can do so only within the determining might and power of God. ‘Both capitalism and communism are incapable of ridding themselves of tyranny so long as their view of man is one which deprives him of his true status as a child of God’ (*Communism and Christianity*, 77). The observations of a Hindu writer are worth quoting in this connection. ‘Nothing can be more mischievous and more opposed to the true moral and social progress of humanity than the modern creed of democracy that any one man is as good as any other in regard to the formation of a judgement on matter of public and social welfare. Nor is it true that in all matters the modern States—even the most democratic of them—act up, in practice, to that ideal’ . . . ‘Nothing can be more absurd than to suppose that in actual practice, the citizens voting at elections in modern States are equally *capable* of judging of the merits of the persons and policies which attain to prominence in public affairs from time to time’ (K. Sundararama: *Dharma and Life*, Part I, 103). Over against this assertion consider the proverb and scriptural saying, namely ‘there is truth in the mouth of four people’; ‘where there are two or three gathered in my name, there I am in their midst’.

There is a tension in the democratic form of social order corresponding to that in human nature. There is always room for criticism and opposition in parliamentary form of democracy; where this is suppressed and its need denied, it is autocracy and absolutism. This is true on the family level and also on the State level. The chief mark of the Biblical religion is precisely this

way of providing a constant critique to the social and political policies of Israel, and this tradition has been rendered more revolutionary and lasting by the teaching and work of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which the Church has inherited. The reformers only recaptured and rediscovered this aspect of the expression of Christian faith. This is also the reason why democracy and Christian faith look alike; and I believe, that is why, among other reasons, we should commit ourselves, existentially speaking, to democracy rather than to any other form of society or government as things now stand. Recognition of this *principle of tension* and *need of criticism* stands for certain assumptions which are in line with the Christian understanding of man. Man is a free individual and has creative abilities; but he is also capable of destroying what he builds, and his vitalities blind and easily mislead his reason. These weaknesses are worse on a collective level than on individual level. Further to a Christian there is no other God than the one who is revealed in Jesus Christ, and Him alone he should worship. Therefore religious freedom is fundamental. In the democratic Constitution of India it is sanctioned that one can profess, practise and propagate one's own religion. 'The significance of religious freedom for democratic freedoms of all kinds cannot be overstated. Democracy stands or falls with it in this country as in any other' (*Christian Participation in Nation-building*, 40).

However, it should be finally stated that the Christian faith shall be true to its prophetic function; it shall interpret and apprise, and also formulate a critique on the events of social and national living. It might be a cry in the wilderness, but still it must utter its voice of prophecy.

Sarvodaya.—We are all generally aware that the term 'Sarvodaya' is due to Gandhi who used the word to translate into Gujarati the title *Unto This Last* by Ruskin. The latter was interpreting the Biblical parable of the 'Labourers in the Vineyard'. The parable presents many problems and lends itself to several interpretations. I do not know if that of Ruskin is the best or the most Christian interpretation. Not only is there the problem of unemployment but also the people were said to have been standing *idle*. Again, it is not only the problem of *production* but since men must eat to live the problem of *distribution is also there*. No single interpretation alone will meet the demands of the Christian faith. However, Gandhi was most influenced by Ruskin's interpretation, and as he was then involved in labour problem in Africa, he soon put the teaching into practice. Sarvodaya means all people must be helped to rise in the standard of their living. Equality of opportunity and economic fraternity, and individual freedom—all are implied. In one word there must be what Vinoba later calls a *Samya Samaj*.

Mahatma Gandhi introduced two most important ideas into the working of this Sarvodaya programme—*satya* as the goal of life to be realized, and *ahimsa* as the means of realizing it. Though

he had derived inspiration from various other sources, he acknowledges that his own religion, particularly, Isavasyopanishad and Gita, revealed to him the truths. Satya (truth), asteya (non-stealing), brahmacharya (celibacy), ahimsa (non-violence), and aparigraha (non-possession) are the most fundamental concepts of the Hindu social and political life according to the Hindu Sastras (Scriptures). Gandhi's Satya and Ahimsa summarize these principles and he vigorously applied them to the life of economics and politics. His movement of non-violent, non-co-operation and Svadeshi is well known. It was indeed a great revolution considering from the standpoint of the then existing situation; but there were other radical thinkers in the country who considered him not progressive enough; some even criticized him as reactionary. So the Communists, particularly taking advantage of certain circumstances after Independence, grew violent and went on causing destruction and damage to life and prestige of the country (cf. Hyderabad activities).

It was at this time that Vinoba Bhave started his movement of Bhudan-yajna. During the course of the last few years it has made, in fact, surprising strides of progress. Many people who have large tracts of land donated to him a few acres each, thus making millions of acres of land all over the country. He has made arrangements to distribute this land to the landless. He was able to enlist from people not only bhudan (land donation) but also shramdan (labour donation), sampatdan (wealth donation), vijnanadan (knowledge donation), etc.

His whole aim is to bring about the required social revolution without resort to violent methods or coercion or even parliamentary legislative measures. He says: 'We want to overhaul the entire social structure without recourse to violence, that is, we want both peace and revolution. Revolution is indispensable. Now if we want peace also then we have to prove that peace, too, has the power to revolutionize the society—not gradually but with the speed of revolution.' He believes that man is essentially good and given time and properly persuaded, he will share with others what all he has. Thus eventually there will be a society in which freedom, equality and fraternity in a life of love prevail and exist. This, according to him, is the kingdom of God on earth of the Christians, the classless society of the Communists.

The anthropological assumptions back of this movement clearly stand in contrast to those of the Christian faith. Religiously, the movement is based on faith in Vedantic monism. Man is essentially good and his nature can be perfected gradually. There is 'soul-force' in man which can work for good and creative projects. But the Christian faith persistently believes that man is a sinner and human life and work involve complicated relationships and tensions. The movement of Sarvodaya makes too simple of these relationships and speaks of revolution without resort to violence or coercion. It dulls the sense of revolution and impedes the progress and self-reliance of the common people.

CONCLUSION

As I said at the beginning, back of all these movements is secularism and scientism disbelieving all what religion believes as supernatural. But on that account it is not for a Christian to curse these movements—not even communism—and to consider them as arising outside the operation of God's power and will. It is generally said that communism is God's judgement on the Church; but one can also interpret that the rise of communism undoubtedly hastened the freedom and development of the backward countries. The colonial Powers would not have given up their power so soon but for the tensions due to the Communist challenge. America indeed is helping and keeping the free world strong precisely to protect herself against the totalitarian world. Thus God uses these Powers sometimes as 'rods' to chastise others; and some other times as agents to free and protect and help others. Therefore, whether it is Communist order, or the democratic structure, or the Sarvodaya form, of society, a Christian has to accept it as *given* by God. For it is finally the *grace* of God that redeems these different forms of society when the day of judgement brings all these under condemnation. However, the Christian should oppose and criticize those forms whenever they conflict with the principles of life according to Christian faith.

*Where knowledge is free ;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by
narrow domestic walls ;
Where words come out of the depth of truth ;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection ;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into
the dreary desert sand of dead habit ;
Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening
thought and action—
Into that haven of freedom, let our country awake.*

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Indian Christian Theological Conference

The Indian Christian Theological Conference was held at Gurukul on December 28th-31st, 1960. The Convener of the conference was Dr. P. David.

The following papers were read and discussed at the conference on the general theme, 'Christian View of Man in Society':

1. The Biblical Understanding of Man's Origin, Nature and Destiny—by Rev. C. S. Thoburn.
2. Man's Nature and Destiny as interpreted by Christian Theology—by Rev. J. Kumaresan.
3. Society and the Kingdom of God as interpreted by Christian Theology—by Dr. W. Stewart.
4. The Modern Conception of Man (Psychological and Philosophical) in the Light of the Christian Faith—by Rev. A. B. Masilamani.
5. Contemporary Forms of Society in the Light of the Christian Faith—by Dr. P. David.
6. Man in Society according to Neo-Hinduism in the Light of the Christian Faith—by Dr. P. D. Devanandan.
7. Man in Society according to Islam in the Light of the Christian Faith—by Rev. E. Sadiq and Rev. E. H. Smith.
8. Christian Man in Indian Society—by Rev. J. R. Chandran (not read—but ideas were presented during discussions).

Owing to unavoidable circumstances papers on The Biblical Understanding of the Foundation, Nature and Destiny of Society by Rev. D. Rajarigam and The Indian Primitive Conception of Man in the Light of Christian Faith by Rev. M. M. Bage could not be available for the conference. The paper by Principal Chandran was not read but during the discussion he was able to help us in our study and discussion on 'Christian Man in Society' which was the subject of his paper. Dr. C. S. Thoburn, the Rev. A. B. Masilamani and the Rev. E. Sadiq were unable to be present at the conference, but their papers were read and discussed.

Among the delegates present, a list of whom is appended to this report, mention must be made of the Rev. V. S. D. Sathyanathan from Ceylon who had attended the South-East Asia Institute for Theological Teachers (conducted under Nanking Foundation, designed to be a refresher course for teachers in Theological

institutions) and the Rev. Dr. E. H. Smith from Gujranwala Theological Seminary, Pakistan; both of them were able to tell us how the theme of the conference appealed to the Christian thinking and communication of the Gospel in their countries. There was also present at this conference Fr. P. De Letter of Kurseong.

The Rev. Dr. P. D. Devanandan was unanimously elected Chairman of the conference. The Rev. C. S. Sundaresan and the Rev. Basil Manuel were appointed recording secretaries. The conference had daily morning devotions conducted by Dr. P. D. Devanandan, Rev. Basil Manuel, Rev. J. R. Chandran and Rev. C. S. Sundaresan. Each session of the day was closed with prayer.

In this report for the sake of convenience we divide the theme of the conference, 'Christian View of Man in Society', into (a) The Origin, Nature and Destiny of Man, and (b) Man in Society. In discussing the former the paper by Dr. C. S. Thoburn helped us to understand the Biblical approach to this subject, while the Rev. J. Kumaresan's paper dealt with it as interpreted by Christian Theology. The modern philosophical and psychological approaches to the subject were discussed in the light of Christian faith in the paper by the Rev. A. B. Masilamani.

The second division of the theme, viz. Man in Society in the Light of Christian Faith, was considered by the following papers: Society and the Kingdom of God as interpreted by Christian Theology (Dr. W. Stewart), Contemporary Forms of Society (Dr. P. David), Man in Society according to Neo-Hinduism (Dr. P. D. Devanandan), Man in Society according to Islam (Rev. E. Sadiq and Rev. E. H. Smith).

(a) The Origin, Nature and Destiny of Man

While discussing the origin, nature and destiny of man, it was noted that it is in the historical revelation of Jesus Christ that we can fully understand man.

It was emphasized that the New Testament clearly teaches that man is a creature distinct from God, created in the image of God with freedom and with possibility of fellowship and dialogue or otherwise with God. The redemption of man, alienated from God, is in Christ through incorporation by baptism in the body of Christ. In the Bible God calls man even after the fall as an individual and as a nation as we see in the case of Abraham and in the call of Israel. The true nature and purpose of God's call can only be understood in the call of Jesus Christ. Because of His Incarnation, Crucifixion and Resurrection, the value of man is revealed, and therefore in Him we have the only clue to the meaning of man. This is the Gospel to be proclaimed in the midst of the different conceptions of man, secular, orthodox, Neo-Hindu, Liberal, etc. At the same time the practical implication of this for the evangelistic task of proclaiming, interpreting and appropriating the Gospel in and through the Church was also emphasized.

During the discussion, questions were raised not only regarding the perfection and consummation of man in relation to the

content of, and process in, such perfection, but also in the light of modern religious and secular movements which take into consideration the value and worth of man both individually and corporately. It was also suggested by some that while we are convinced of the all-sufficiency of the grace of God in Christ for every man, we in India cannot afford to ignore the several types of religious disciplines which claim to help man to attain enlightenment and communion with God. Therefore it will be profitable for us to study the role of the mind and human endeavours in the soul's desire for the realization of God in Christ. Such a study will be of value to Christians and non-Christians for understanding how God can be realized in and through Christ.

While equal emphasis should be placed upon Incarnation, Crucifixion and Resurrection, it was felt that in order to claim that on the cross the regeneration of man was achieved as a matter of fact, and that we now live in the new age of the new man, it needs to be demonstrated especially in our generation. This involves that the fellowship within the Church must manifest itself in the concrete situations of everyday life. The Hindu intellectual sees no difficulty in accepting the Gospel of new humanity, but not the new being in Christ. These problems need our attention. In our communication we must begin with the fact of love of God revealed in Christ.

(b) Man in Society

Considerable discussion was devoted to the factors in secular life and religious thought in our country today which call for a restatement of the Christian doctrine of man.

The spread of communism, the acceptance of the democratic way of life, the insistence upon the secularization of society, the recognition of material values of life as contributing to the wholeness of the mind and body of man—these were some of the factors that were stressed in the discussion.

The Christian responsibility in the context is to relate the significance of these new emphases to the religious understanding of man in society. Already there are indications of this within both Hinduism and Islam, because of different forces operating in society which necessitate new ways of organizing human life in terms of natural concern, commitment and responsibility. The impact of the Christian thought concerning man on non-Christian understanding of man in society should take this into account.

Thus a matter of pressing urgency for the Church is the question how can Christian doctrine of man be interpreted in the light of their own understanding of man and society. Now this calls for closer study of contemporary movements of thought and social action within Hinduism itself. Reference was made in that connection to the teaching of Aurobindo and to that in Sarvodaya Movement.

The revolutionary consequences of transformation in Christ have led to the belief and doctrine that Christian is a 'new' man. But our claim that a man in Christ is a new creation though at

best partially experienced by many, and little experienced by most, is the greatest hindrance for communication.

While we may not accept the early optimism regarding human nature which underlies a great deal of contemporary activism, we should recognize that in Hinduism, it is a sign of recognition of the worth and value of man as man.

Nevertheless, the Christian understanding of man as a sinner should be stressed without preventing the possibility of a dialogue. There is danger in interpreting the Christian teaching about forgiveness, if it is considered negatively as taking off the load of sin and not positively putting new worth into the person of man.

While we should stress the price God had to pay for restoring sinful man, the sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit as a present reality in man should be given prominence in our exposition of the Christian faith. The present work of the Holy Spirit is a continuation of the work of Christ directed towards the final consummation of God's purpose. Thus here and now, the Christian faith should recognize the fulfilment of the promise of God Himself that the Holy Spirit who convicts the world of sin will also convert it from sin and consecrate it through sanctification until the final consummation.

There was some amount of dissatisfaction about the persistence of personal pietism unrelated to social concerns among the Christians in India. The mistaken understanding of the exclusiveness of the Christian faith has tended towards an aloofness from our environment. Sometimes it leads to unhealthy Pharisaical attitude of excluding ourselves from the rest of our fellowmen. The Church is not sufficiently involved in the social ferment, the economic upheaval, and the Quest of just ordering of society. Indian Christians as committed Christians should undertake greater political and social responsibility by intelligently understanding the present situation and identifying themselves with those who are playing a vital role in the life of the nation.

The Church cannot compromise with atheistic communism, but at the same time the Church should not justify the social evils either by indifference or by giving its support both direct and indirect to outworn and unjust institutions. Christian social action will always be a concern of committed conscience of Christians as individuals and as groups, and the Church must recognize the freedom of such Christian people to so act in regard to social evils.

The fact of Islam as a living faith among a noticeable section of the population should be given sufficient recognition. We must not become so absorbed in our concern in proclaiming the Gospel to our Hindu neighbours as to neglect them. One of the strong points of the conference was to stress this fact.

An attempt at defining more clearly some lines of Indian Christian theological approach resulted in the suggestion of forming an Indian Christian Theological Association. A sub-committee was formed to work out and present to the business session a constitution and by-laws of such an Association.

Business Session

1. A constitution, prepared by a sub-committee, for the Indian Christian Theological Association was adopted. The constitution is herewith appended.

2. The following were elected for the period until the next regular conference or for a period of five years, whichever is less:

Chairman	...	The Rev. Dr. P. D. Devanandan.
Secretary-Treasurer	...	Dr. H. Jai Singh.
Advisory Committee	...	The above officers. Editor of <i>The Indian Journal of Theology</i> (appointed by the Editorial Committee), The Rev. Fr. P. De Letter, The Rev. Dr. W. Stewart, The Rev. Dr. P. David, and The Rev. J. R. Chandran.

3. It was resolved that all papers be summarized by the writers of the papers for publication in *The Indian Journal of Theology* as a special number, leaving the editorial board free to edit the summaries to suit the *Journal*.

4. Thanks were conveyed to:

- A. The Rev. Dr. P. David, Convener.
- B. The Rev. Dr. P. D. Devanandan, Chairman.
- C. The Staff of the Gurukul Theological College, Mr. Paulraj, Caterer.
- D. The members of the conference for having come from distant places.
- E. The Revs. C. S. Sundaresan and Basil Manuel, Recording Secretaries.
- F. The National Christian Council of India, and the W.C.C. Study Division for their generous financial assistance.

(Sd.) Basil Manuel

(Sd.) C. S. Sundaresan
Recording Secretaries

Delegates Present

- 1. Dr. P. D. Devanandan (Chairman), Bangalore.
- 2. Dr. P. David (Convener), Gurukul, Madras.
- 3. Rev. C. S. Sundaresan (Recording Secretary), Andhra Union Theological College, Dornakal.
- 4. Rev. Basil Manuel (Recording Secretary), Bishop's College, Calcutta.
- 5. Rev. J. R. Chandran, U.T. College, Bangalore.
- 6. Dr. W. Stewart, Serampore College, Serampore.
- 7. Dr. S. Estborn, Gurukul, Madras.
- 8. Rev. A. E. D. Frederick, N.C.C., Nagpur.

9. Rev. G. Solomon, Ramapatnam Baptist Theological Seminary, Andhra Pradesh.
10. Rev. K. Devasahayam, Lutheran Theological College, Rajahmundry.
11. Dr. E. H. Smith, Gujuranwala Theological Seminary, Gujuranwala, West Pakistan.
12. Rev. A. D. Manuel, Tamilnad Theological College, Tirumaraiyur.
13. Dr. R. M. Clark (Secretary), B.T.E., N.C.C.
14. Rev. T. S. Garret, Tamilnad Theological College, Tirumaraiyur.
15. Rev. T. Gnanandam, Baptist Theological College, Kakinada, Andhra Pradesh.
16. Dr. V. P. Thomas, Leonard Theological College, Jabalpure.
17. Dr. H. Jai Singh, Leonard Theological College, Jabalpure.
18. Rev. V. S. D. Satyanathan, Diocesan Divinity School, Buller's Road, Colombo 7.
19. Rev. Fr. P. De Letter, St. Mary's Theological College, Kurseong, West Bengal.
20. Rev. V. T. Kurien, U.T.C., Bangalore.
21. Rev. Dr. R. A. Martin, Gurukul, Madras
22. Rev. H. J. David Lyon, Allipur, Vardha District, Maharashtra.
23. Rev. J. Kumaresan, Gurukul, Madras.
24. Rev. B. G. Prasada Rao, Medak, Andhra Pradesh.
25. Rev. N. D. Anandarao Samuel, Krishna Diocese, Bezwada.

Visitors

1. Rev. Fr. P. Anthony, S.J., Loyola College, Madras 13.
2. Rev. Fr. Bechers, St. Xavier's College.
3. Rev. J. D. Asirvadam, Tambaram, Madras.
4. Miss O. M. Valentine, C.S.V., Madras.
5. Rev. M. A. Thomas, Madras.

INDIAN CHRISTIAN THEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Constitution

1. *Name*.—The name of the Association shall be THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN THEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

2. *Purpose*.—The purpose of the Association shall be to promote study and exchange of views on Christian Theology, especially in relation to the task of interpreting the Christian faith to the people of India and its neighbouring countries.

3. *Membership*.—Membership in the Association will be open to (a) any Christian theological institution, and (b) any professing Christian who pays the annual subscription fixed by the Association.

4. *Activities*.—The activities of the Association shall consist of (a) the holding of periodical conferences devoted to the study of particular aspects of Christian doctrine, (b) encouraging the writing and publishing of papers on Indian Christian Theology, and (c) other projects which the Association may decide to undertake in furtherance of its purpose.

5. *Officers*.—The officers of the Association shall be (a) a Chairman, and (b) a Secretary-Treasurer who shall be elected at each conference and will hold office until the next regular conference or for a period of five years, whichever is less.

6. *Advisory Committee*.—The plans for the periodic conferences and other activities of the Association will be made by an Advisory Committee consisting of the officers, one of the editors of *The Indian Journal of Theology* and four others elected at each conference.

By-laws

1. The subscriptions for the Association shall be Rs.15 per year for institutions and Rs.7/50 per year for individuals.

2. Members will receive copies of *The Indian Journal of Theology* without additional charge.

3. The conferences of the Association will be normally held every three years.

4. All members of the Association will be invited to attend the conference. The Member Institutions will be invited to send one representative each.

In addition to the members, the Advisory Committee is authorized to invite other persons to the conference who, in their judgment, will have a contribution to make.

5. *Finances*.—The income of the Association will consist of (a) membership fees, and (b) special contributions from individuals or institutions. The expenses will consist of (a) subscription to *The Indian Journal of Theology*, (b) postage, stationery, etc., of the officers spent for the purposes of the Association, (c) the cost of holding conferences, and (d) any other item approved by the Advisory Committee. To the extent that funds permit subsidies will be provided for the members attending the conferences towards travel and other expenses.

Nominations

Chairman	...	Dr. P. D. Devanandan.
Secretary-Treasurer	...	Dr. H. Jai Singh.
Editor of <i>I.J.T.</i>	...	To be appointed by the Editorial Committee.
Members	...	Rev. Fr. P. De Letter, Rev. Dr. P. David, Rev. J. R. Chandran and Rev. W. Stewart.

The Indian Christian Theological Association

H. JAI SINGH

At the last meeting of the Indian Theological Conference, held at Madras in December, 1960, it was unanimously decided to establish an association for the general purpose of promoting study and exchange of views on Christian theology, especially as related to the Indian environment. In previous years meetings of the Indian Christian Theological Conference have been informal gatherings, without any constitution, but at Madras the need for a continuing organization was stressed. Consequently the Indian Christian Theological Association was organized, a constitution written and a continuing committee elected.

The Association will provide opportunities for discussion and forums with a view to gaining a deeper understanding of the Christian faith. There is a theological renaissance in the Christian world today. The Theological Association should provide avenues whereby an understanding of the issues underlying this renaissance might be gained. What are these issues, how are they related to one another, and what divergent answers are being given in regard to them? There is the further problem of the interpretation of the Christian tradition. What is the part of myth and symbol in the Christian tradition? What is the meaning of myth as it is being interpreted today? The Theological Association may be able to help us understand what psychotherapy is doing for people and how the Christian faith can be made available to heal the sick in mind and body. Again, much is being said and written today on the relation of art and religion. The Theological Association may provide opportunities for us to know what the Indian art is saying as to the situation of man in India. What is the voice of our poetry in the various parts of India? What are Indian Christian artists attempting to say? It is often true that genuine art speaks for the theological and spiritual needs of man more clearly than either the rigid and formalistic language of theology or philosophy, for art is deeper than logic.

As its name implies, the Indian Christian Theological Association has a dual relationship and responsibility. Firstly, it is related to the universal community of Christians everywhere and shares in the common concerns of the Church Universal.

Its second loyalty is to the Church in India, for it is in this situation that God has placed us. The Christian faith must be interpreted and communicated in the context of the Indian environment. This is not an easy task, for there seem to be radical discontinuities between the Christian faith and aspects of the environment. There is need to interpret the faith in such a way as to establish some continuities with the surrounding culture in terms of religious tradition, art and poetry, philosophy and scripture.

The task of the Indian Christian Theological Association is endless. Merely human resources are inadequate for its accomplishment, but with faith in God, we can make a beginning.

The membership in the Association will be open to any Christian theological institution (a college, a study centre, a religious brotherhood, etc.) and to any professing Christian who pays the annual subscription. The subscriptions are Rs.15 per year for institutions and Rs.7/50 for individuals. Members will receive copies of *The Indian Journal of Theology* without additional charge.

The activities of the Association will include the holding of periodical conferences devoted to the study of particular aspects of the Christian faith, and the encouragement of the writing of papers on theological subjects, and the publication of such papers. There may be other related activities that the Association may decide to undertake from time to time. A conference of the Association will be normally held every three years. Individual members of the Association will be free to attend the conference and institutions will be invited to send one delegate each.

The officers of the Association shall be a chairman, and a secretary-treasurer who shall be elected at each conference and will hold office until the next regular conference or for a period of five years, whichever is less. The plans for the periodic conferences and other activities of the Association will be normally made by an advisory committee consisting of the officers, one of the editors of *The Indian Journal of Theology* and four others elected at each conference. For the current session the members of the committee are as follows: Dr. P. D. Devanandan (chairman), Dr. Herbert Jai Singh (secretary-treasurer), Rev. Fr. P. De Letter, Dr. P. David, Rev. J. R. Chandran, and Rev. W. Stewart, and one of the editors of *The Indian Journal of Theology*.

The Association hopes to meet its expenses from income received from membership fees and from special contributions from individuals or institutions.

All who desire to become members should write to the secretary-treasurer, Herbert Jai Singh, Leonard Theological College, Jabalpur, M.P.

The Call of Peter in the Fourth Gospel

O. M. RAO

The synopsis of the Gospel story is one of the major tasks with which the textual and form critics of the four Gospels are faced. The authenticity of the records based on their historicity, chronology and sources has been rated highly by critics. At the same time the fact has to be admitted that there are discrepancies on crucial points between the Gospel records. The chief divergence is between the Synoptic Gospels on the one hand and the Fourth Gospel on the other. Our present consideration is with reference to the call of Peter. Is the divergence between the Gospels about it real or apparent? If it is real, can it be reconciled? Barrett frankly admits the difference and says that it is 'impossible to harmonize the Johannine and the Synoptic narratives'. This, however, is the negative way of evading the issue. We must see whether a positive way of facing the problem is possible at all.

The call of Peter is closely linked with the call of his brother Andrew and the two sons of Zebedee (Mark 1:16-18; Matthew 4:18-20; Luke 5:1-11). In the Johannine Gospel also Peter and Andrew go together. To them are added 'the other disciple', Philip, and Nathanael (1:35-42). Philip and Nathanael are not mentioned by the Synoptics.

Secondly, in the Synoptics Peter, along with the other three, was called on the shores of the sea of Galilee, while they were engaged in fishing. Luke introduces the miracle of the draught of fishes (Luke 5:1-11), implying that the response to the call was the result of witnessing the miracle. John is clear that the call came neither suddenly as in Mark nor through a miracle as in Luke, and that the Baptist had prepared his disciples to receive the Messiah. According to John, this took place in Judea, where the Baptist was at that time.

Thirdly, in the Marcan account we find that Jesus began His ministry after John the Baptist was imprisoned (Mark 1:14). The call of Peter was therefore after John was put in prison. In the Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, the call of Peter took place soon after the baptism of Jesus.

The chief points of difference between the two traditions may be analysed in the following way:

*St. John's Gospel**Synoptic Gospels*

- | | |
|---|---|
| (a) Place—Judea (1:28) | Galilee (Mark 1:16) |
| (b) Time—close on baptism (1:29) | Sometime after (Mark 1:14) |
| (c) Persons—Philip and Nathanael included | Not named |
| (d) Circumstances—a simple meeting | In the context of a miracle (Luke 5:8-11) |

Attempts, both positive and negative, have been made to explain these differences. On the negative side, the historical accuracy of the Fourth Gospel has been called in question. This would mean that the call of the disciples in the Johannine Gospel cannot be credited with truth.

William Temple's words are pertinent in this connection. 'It is no doubt true', he writes, 'that St. John sets his chosen events for record because of their significance; but it is essential for his purpose that the significant occasion should also be an event.' The theme of the Fourth Gospel is that 'the Word became flesh'. It is therefore essential for John that the incidents which he narrates should be actual events.

Barrett thinks that the various accounts of the call of the disciples are legendary, produced gradually by the Church to answer the question how the disciples came to know Jesus. In his own words, 'It was natural that the church should wish to know something of the way in which its best-known leaders first came to be disciples and the growth of diverse legends of their call is therefore not surprising.'

It should be asked, however, 'Why can't we take John as following a tradition derived from the disciples who had been with John the Baptist?' With special reference to the early ministry of our Lord the account of John is of great value. Eusebius, the Church historian of the fourth century, has preserved a tradition, according to which 'the three Gospels previously written, having been distributed among all and handed to him (John), they say that he admitted them, but that there was only wanting in the narrative, the account of the things done by Christ, among the first of His deeds, and at the commencement of the Gospel. And this was the truth. For it was evident that the other three Evangelists only wrote the deeds of our Lord one year after the imprisonment of John the Baptist and intimated this in the very beginning of their history. The apostle John therefore in his Gospel gives the deeds of Jesus before the Baptist was cast into the prison' (111:24). This means that John's account was an attempt to fill the gap left by the other Gospels. Eusebius also quotes Papias to have stated that 'The elder said this also, Mark who had been Peter's interpreter wrote down carefully as much as he remembered recording both sayings and doings of Christ, not a hearer of the Lord, not a follower, but later a follower of Peter, as I said' (111:39, 15).

If it is true that Mark's Gospel is Peter's account, the omission of the latter's introduction to Jesus, as recorded in John, raises a serious question. How could Peter fail to record his own call? H. E. W. Turner has recently treated at length the question whether the tradition of Papias can be credited with truth and has given an affirmative answer. But there are other scholars, for instance, Bacon and Hagar, who have queried this opinion. So one cannot easily take this quotation from Papias as sufficient ground to grant the claim of Peter's association with the Gospel of Mark.

On the other hand, John's account of Peter must be credited with due weight. John and Peter, as co-workers, must have known each other very intimately. It is clear that John knew the Synoptics. Therefore, it is unlikely that John would contradict the other Gospels without being sure of his own ground. By the time John wrote his Gospel Peter had come to a position of leadership and his call must have become a subject of interest for the early Church, and John may have used the occasion to give the story of the Apostle's call, the story which had not been recorded by the earlier Gospels.

Positive efforts at harmonizing the accounts have also been undertaken by scholars. Griffith Thomas and Stevens, for instance, contend that the account in the Fourth Gospel narrates the conversion, and that the account in the Synoptics the call to the ministry. Bernard, Carr, Temple and others think that the story in the Fourth Gospel was that of an informal call and the Synoptic account that of a formal call. They also stress the fact while the disciples referred to Jesus as 'Rabbi' in the Fourth Gospel, He is addressed as 'Lord' in the Synoptics. When their apprehension of Jesus as 'Rabbi' changed to 'Lord', they left their profession completely and followed Him. They also argue on the basis of the Greek tense of the verb 'to follow'. John uses the 'aorist', which they take to mean as referring to one completed action. In other words, according to Johannine account, Jesus did not call the disciples to be His followers. It has also been suggested that questions like 'Whom are you seeking?' and 'Where do you stay?' indicate that they desired an opportunity for a private conversation with Him. John says clearly that they stayed with Him 'that day' (1:39). In other words, they followed Jesus only for a day.

These arguments assume that there were two calls—one informal and the other formal. 'It is characteristic of St. John', comments the Rev. A. Carr, 'to choose for his narrative the inner spiritual first call of the apostles. The Synoptics relate the second external call of the Four'. This suggestion endeavours to answer the problem how if the disciples had been called in the beginning, they had to be called again while fishing. Since, for instance, the first call was an informal one, even after it, they continued in their profession; but when the formal call came, they gave up their fishing with the net. However, according to

the Johannine narrative, the disciples went fishing even after the resurrection (chapter 21).

Scholars like Hoskyns and Barrett leave no room for a second call: 'from the first His intimate disciples follow Jesus closely and there is no need for them to be called again'. Hoskyns states that when once they came to Jesus or followed Him, if ever they left Him, it was not to be called again. 'Henceforth it is demanded of them that they should be separated from Him only in order that they may bring others to Him.' This may have been what the first batch of disciples did when they left Jesus after staying with Him a day. They went out from Him not to be called again, but to bring others to Him. Andrew, for instance, brought his brother Simon in this way.

As to the problem of the geographical setting in which the call came to them according to the two accounts, Merrill C. Tenny throws some light. The major units of Palestine in our Lord's time were Galilee, Samaria and Judea. Most of the recorded incidents connected with our Lord's ministry took place alternatively between Galilee and Judea. 'One exception might be noted', observes Tenny, 'the events which marked the introduction of Jesus in 1:19-51 (John) which includes the call of the disciples. These probably took place on the east side of the Jordan near one of the fords north of the Dead Sea and accessible both to Jerusalem and to the cities of Galilee by connecting roads.' If the call took place in this area, it was beyond Jordan near Bethbara where John was baptizing, for here John introduced his disciples to Jesus (1:34, 36). If so, the call of Peter was neither in Judea nor in Galilee, but in the province of Perea.

It may be that, on account of its proximity to both, Perea is taken for Judea by John and for Galilee by the Synoptics. According to the Johannine account, Andrew, James and possibly John were with the Baptist. Peter also must have been in the area, for otherwise Andrew could not have brought him to Jesus in a short time. After the incident Jesus left for Galilee and found Philip who was from Bethsaida, the city of Peter and Andrew. In this trip Peter and Andrew may have accompanied Jesus, and may have even invited Him to stay with them and preach the good news in their city. It must be during this stay in Bethsaida that Philip and Nathanael were called. Therefore, Andrew and Peter and James and John were called in Perea and Philip and Nathanael in Galilee.

The following conclusions may be drawn from the foregoing study:

1. The discrepancy between the Synoptics and the Johannine Gospel in regard to the call of Peter is only apparent.
2. The Marcan account is too short, and therefore gives the impression of abruptness. Luke's introduction of the miracle does not solve the problem.
3. There is general agreement among scholars today that

Jesus began His early ministry in Judea. But this fact is not mentioned by the Synoptic Gospels. John gives it.

4. John's is the last Gospel to be written. By the time it was composed Peter had become prominent and that fact gave John an occasion to offer a detailed account of his call.
5. Propositions like formal and informal call, conversion and call, or the establishment of personal relationship and official call, and so on, are attempts to hurdle over the problem posed by the post-call fishing. But in the face of the post-resurrection fishing, this may be safely ignored.
6. The call of Peter, Andrew, James and John in Mark is not treated in detail. John, on the other hand, narrates the same fact in greater detail.
7. We may conclude that the account of the call of Peter in the Fourth Gospel refers to his one call. It elaborates the story, as found in Mark, that a fisherman of Galilee named Simon left his profession and followed Jesus at Bethbara in Perea in the course of the early ministry of Jesus. He was renamed Peter by the Master.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

Mr. M. A. Laird is on the staff of the Serampore College.

The Rev. Dr. William Stewart is Principal of Serampore College.

The Rev. Dr. P. David is Principal of Gurukul Lutheran Theological College, Madras.

Dr. H. Jai Singh is on the staff of the Leonard Theological College, Jabalpur.

The Rev. O. M. Rao is on the staff of the Eastern Theological College, Jorhat, Assam.

Book Reviews

The Fellowship of Believers: by Ernest A. Payne. Carey Kingsgate Press. 1954. Price 8s. 6d.

The Life and Faith of the Baptists: by H. Wheeler Robinson. Carey Kingsgate Press. 1946. Price 6s.

Both these books by recognized leaders of the Baptist Churches in the U.K. are revised and enlarged editions of previous publications, Dr. Wheeler Robinson completing his revision just before his death. Learning about Baptists from Baptist authors provides a reminder that we often need, that it is much better for us to learn of other traditions than our own at the hands of their own exponents, and not as it were at second-hand.

Much that is said in Dr. Payne's book is relevant to our discussions with one another in India, the more so because he gives particular attention to the doctrines of the Church, Ministry and Sacraments. At times he is arguing for causes with which not all his Baptist brethren would agree, but the book is marked by charity and a breadth of understanding. He deals for example with the question, whether baptism is to be regarded as only of individual significance, or as a Church ordinance, and a divinely ordained means of entry into the visible Church. There are a number of useful appendices, giving some statements of faith made by the Baptist Churches in the U.K.

Dr. Wheeler Robinson approaches his subject from a different angle and, after an introductory chapter on origins, gives eight short biographical sketches of individuals or churches. But like Dr. Payne, he gives much attention to the doctrines of Baptism and of the Church.

K. N. JENNINGS

The Doctrine of Our Redemption: by Nathaniel Micklem. Second Edition: Oxford University Press, London. 1960. Pp. 115. Price 12s. 6d.

This re-issue of a Lenten Book commissioned by Archbishop William Temple is to be welcomed. It is not intended for the professional theologian, but for every man who is prepared to think about his faith, and to work that thought into the stuff of his devotional life.

Dr. Micklem's wide but unobtrusive scholarship skims the centuries to illustrate his theme. By an acute selection of the salient features of each theological age, he highlights the chief

emphases of Christian teaching on the Atonement in a sequence both historical and logical. But this is no arid textbook of the history of doctrine. By his vivid style and telling illustrations, the writer challenges his readers to see in each theological viewpoint a deeply-felt spiritual awareness of God. Without disguising the rigorous intellectual questing that has gone to make an Augustine or an Anselm, Dr. Micklem succeeds in evoking the overtones of mystery to which formal theology is a pointer. It is written (in his own words) not only to stimulate thought, but 'quicken devotion also'.

In the result, the layman will find theological reasoning that is alive and relevant, the busy minister some good sermon illustrations, and the student of theology a stimulating exposition of Melancthon's dictum, 'The heart makes a theologian'.

Serampore

J. C. HINDLEY

New Testament Greek. Teach Yourself Books: by D. F. Hudson. E.U.P.

This is an immediately attractive book. It is small enough not to daunt the beginner. It is neatly printed, and enters into its subject without a lot of tiresome technicalities. The style is racy and sometimes amusing—'the future, like the donkey, has a tail added; the past is like the elephant with a trunk as well'. The order of lessons is sensible and the verb does not appear as formidable as in some grammars. The paradigms and lists of verbs are well set out with useful notes not always easy to find elsewhere, such as that whereas the other tenses of the verbs *ἵσται* and *δέχομαι* are active in meaning, the aorist passive is passive in meaning. See also the useful information on pages 119 and 135. It is pleasant to have some non-Biblical exercises, sometimes in story form. There is a key to the exercises, and even some pictures!

This book, as might by now be guessed, is written in the belief that it ought not to be necessary to bully men into learning Greek as though it were a drudgery. There is no doubt that grammars such as Nunn, while otherwise excellent and still useful for teaching, do frighten people by the difficulty of their English style, and by the assumption that you learned Latin at school. Most of us who use Nunn do not bother to read through all Nunn's grammatical explanations but tell our students the same thing in simpler English. So a book such as this is welcome and in general its grammatical notes are simple, clear and easy to remember.

There are a few minor blemishes due to over-compression, which could easily be rectified in a later edition.

1. If St. Paul could do without accents, it might be argued, so can we. Perhaps this is true, but, since they do serve a useful purpose in distinguishing otherwise indistinguishable forms, an introduction to them seems not entirely otiose.

2. On page 20, the forms $\eta\varsigma$ and $\eta\muε\theta\alpha$, both found in the New Testament, are omitted from the imperfect of $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\iota$.

3. You are left to guess, in Ex. *iiib*, that $\epsilon\nu$ is followed by the dative.

4. On page 32 $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omega$ is a bad example to bracket with $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ and $\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ as verbs that do not lengthen the contract vowel in the future. The usual triplet is $\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$. $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omega$ is irregular for a different reason and is followed in this by several other verbs in $-\alpha\omega$.

5. In explaining, on page 35, the future of liquid verbs, it seems simpler to say that they have the endings of contract verbs in $-\acute{\epsilon}\omega$; but admittedly these endings have not yet been taught.

6. $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\xi}\alpha$ is given as the aorist of $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ on page 47 and $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\nu$ on page 50 without further explanation.

7. On page 48, in the section on the aorist of liquid verbs, to the words 'Also they strengthen the vowel in the stem', 'where possible' might be added.

8. On page 66, a student might be forgiven for thinking that $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ had a second aorist middle. Surely compression has gone too far here.

9. It is not clearly stated—see page 75 and the exercise on page 96—that in a prohibition in the aorist, the imperative cannot be used and the subjunctive must.

10. Page 106: $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$ with the accusative sometimes means 'with', especially in St. John.

11. On pages 121 and 122, further examples of the accusative and infinitive construction should be given, since this is unfamiliar to Indian students and the second example really does not belong under this heading.

12. It would be more accurate to say, on page 126, that the genitive absolute is used when the subject of the subordinate clause is different from that of the main clause, since the rule as stated by Mr. Hudson is violated by the New Testament—e.g. in Mark 14:1, quoted by Nunn.

13. The introduction to conditional sentences seems to me one occasion when Mr. Hudson's usual clarity has deserted him, and what really is a very simple matter becomes more complicated than need be. Sentence No. 9 in Ex. *xxva* does not agree with the rule given in the table.

14. On page 82, $\tau\iota\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$ is misprinted for $\tau\iota\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$.

I must admit that many of the sentences given in the exercises for translation take an unduly pessimistic view of mankind, but perhaps this arises from Mr. Hudson's experience of teaching with earlier grammars!

Now no doubt one must be intelligent if one is to teach oneself a language, but I often felt that the exercises were hard for a beginner, and certainly too hard for, say, an L.Th. student. This book would be useful in the hands of a good teacher with an intelligent class; but, with a duller group, I doubt if it would entirely obviate the need for 'bullying', that is, insisting that exercises be done, given in and corrected regularly.

In spite of these criticisms, this is as good a book as I have

seen to arouse a man's interest in New Testament Greek, but, as the author himself recognizes, there is no quick way of learning a language. Jude the Obscure sadly discovered that Greek is not a code, the principles of which can be grasped and then simply applied. Greek is a language, the learning of which demands a certain steady application. While we should never try to persuade men that this labour can be avoided, all books, such as this, that put a pleasant face on that labour are to be welcomed.

The Imitation of God in Christ: by E. J. Tinsley. S.C.M.

This is a dignified but rather disappointing book. It is called 'An Essay on the Biblical basis of Christian Spirituality', and begins with a chapter on the meaning of mysticism, rebutting criticisms often levelled against it, and showing that, properly understood, it can be shown to rest on a Biblical foundation. We are in need of serious and scholarly books on the devotional life written from the non-Catholic side. A. R. George's *Communion with God* was useful, though it was somewhat too academic and hardly dealt with the actual practice of prayer; but other books are few. It was then with real hope that I turned to this book.

But in fact the book does not deal with prayer or the devotional life at all. It is simply concerned to demonstrate what is surely an obvious truism, namely that the true Christian life is based on the imitation of God's declared acts and Christ's own ways. It begins with a rather laboured attempt to show, by a study of the word 'way', that the Israelite idea of the good life was a following of the 'way' that God led his people from Egypt to the promised land. Turning to the New Testament, we are introduced to the 'Way of the Son of Man' (always printed with capital letters as if it were a Biblical phrase), in which the disciples were to walk. Ideas of the dynamic imitation of Christ are followed out in the Fourth Gospel and the Epistles. In these chapters, there are many incidental passages of real suggestiveness, but the book itself lacks the unity of a strongly-outlined and binding idea. Everyone knows that the Christian is called to imitate Christ, and it cannot be said that this book adds greatly to our understanding of this great conception. Moreover the body of the book deals with ethics not devotion, and it is therefore difficult to see its connection with the opening chapter.

Trivandrum

GEOFFREY PAUL

The Way of the Ascetics: by Tito Colliander. Hodder and Stoughton. Price 9s. 6d.

This book contains an exposition of asceticism based upon the writings of the holy fathers of the Orthodox Church, and it is intended to help ordinary people living in the world, engaged in their various avocations.

The essence of asceticism is described by the author as self-denial or the transference of love from the self to Christ without any change in outward conditions of life. This requires rooting out of all desire for enjoyment, a condition which may horrify the easy-going men and women of modern times. Some amount of self-denial is indispensable for anyone and the book gives a lot of practical suggestions along that line. The positive way of overcoming self through deeds of love for the brethren is not taken seriously by the author, though it is implied in the advice to take up the yoke of Christ. The book deals with the various aspects of the spiritual warfare and warns against the pitfalls of self-reliance, self-satisfaction and so on. The importance assigned by the author to ceaseless prayer and to the avoidance of extravagance is worthy of special note. The book as a whole, and especially the sections dealing with fasting, the use of icons and 'Jesus Prayer', add to our knowledge of the spirit of Orthodoxy.

Syrian Orthodox Church
Calcutta

K. K. MATHEWS

Revelation and the Bible : Contemporary Evangelical Thought, 1958 : Carl F. H. Henry (Ed.). The Tyndale Press, London. Pp. 413. Price 17s. 6d.

A symposium consisting of twenty-four essays with a short preface by the editor, the aim of the work is to present contemporary evangelical thought on 'Revelation and the Bible'. The contributors are from the United States of America, Great Britain and the Continent of Europe—an interdenominational team—ranging from Anglican Evangelicals to Missouri Lutherans.

The essayists recognize that Barth and Brunner have successfully weakened the influence of Liberalism in Protestant theology and emphasized the supernatural character of revelation, but find them unacceptable, as they have not done justice to the 'revelation-status of Scripture'! Scripture itself, maintain the essayists, is 'Revelation'.

The first six essays deal with Revelation. The subject is treated under General and Special Divine Revelation, Special Divine Revelation as Rational, as Historical and Personal, as Objective, as Scriptural and Contemporary Views of Revelation. The work then includes essays on the Witness of Scripture to its Inspiration, Our Lord's Use of Scripture, New Testament use of the Old Testament, Canon of the Old Testament, Canon of the New Testament, the Apocrypha, the Church Doctrine of Inspiration, and Contemporary Ideas of Inspiration, the Phenomena of Scripture, the Evidence of Prophecy and Miracles, the Holy Spirit and the Scriptures and the Principles of Interpretation. There are other essays which deal with the relevance of Biblical Archaeology, Biblical Criticism, Authority and Unity of the Bible.

The usefulness and value of the essays vary from one another.

Professor Berkouwer's treatment of General and Special Revelation, for instance, is clear and helpful, though he does not show himself free from inaccurate generalizations, a charge which he himself levels against liberalist and modernist scholars. The point of view of the writers may be indicated by noting that, according to one of them, the story of the Fall should be taken as 'an objective historical happening'. Another believes that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch, a claim which the Bible itself does not make.

There is plenty of scholarly and sound judgment in the essays of D. J. Wiseman on the Archaeological Confirmation of the Old Testament and of F. F. Bruce on Archaeological Confirmation of the New Testament. These are especially valuable to the general reader who does not have access to journals or recent publications on Biblical archaeology. But the title 'Confirmation' is misleading. So also the essays of N. H. Ridderbos and M. C. Tenny on Reversals of Old Testament Criticism and Reversals of New Testament Criticism respectively, though good as survey articles, suffer from misleading titles. The essays on the Authority of the Bible and the Unity of the Bible are disappointing.

The work appends a short but too selective bibliography, which in some branches is very one-sided. This is followed by an author index and a subject index. Of these, the latter is not carefully drawn. Besides there are inaccuracies in the indicated page numbers and omission of some important topics. There are also several errors in printing throughout the book.

*United Theological College
Bangalore*

E. C. JOHN

Spirit of the Living God: by Leon Morris, B.Sc., M.Th., Ph.D.,
Inter-Varsity, London, 1960. Pp. 102. Price 4s.

Though neglected for a long time, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is being rediscovered in our time, and several books have been written in recent years on it. This small book by the Vice-Principal of Ridley College, Melbourne, adds to that number.

Consisting of eight chapters, the book refers in the first to the conversation between Jesus and Nicodemus. In the second the author gives a brief summary of the Old Testament ideas on the Spirit of the Lord. He shows that the full revelation of the Spirit cannot be found in the Old Testament, but that it points forward to 'a coming day', when the Messiah would come and the reality of the Spirit would be made clear. Each of the next six chapters deals with one of the distinctive New Testament ideas about the Spirit. Chapter three takes up the question whether the Spirit is person or thing, and concludes that 'He is a person in His own right, with His own functions'. Chapter four attempts to prove that He is divine. The fifth chapter discusses 'The Spirit in the Church' and shows that the Church received its vigorous life and was 'set forth on the path of the work and worship' on the day

of Pentecost by the decisive and unrepeatable act of the coming of the Spirit, and that ever since 'the divine Spirit is active and sovereign in the Church'. Chapters six, seven and eight are concerned with the work of the Spirit in the life of the believer. This work is so radical that man can be said to have been born all over again. The author concludes in the final chapter that the view of the Spirit based on a trinitarian conception of God is absolutely essential, and that God expects all His people to experience the fullness of the Spirit.

The book rests on the conviction that for an understanding of the nature of God and the meaning of Christian service 'it is imperative that we come to grips with the doctrine of the Spirit'. Exceedingly well-written and aimed for the use of readers with no theological training, the book is a very valuable addition.

Yeotmal

K. C. MATHEW

Background to the New Testament: by J. R. Shaw.

A Guide for Living: by John Poulton.

(U.S.C.L. Lutterworth Press). 2s. each.

These brief studies are from a new series of Key Books, attractively produced, and intended presumably for the use of the laity. The *Background to the New Testament* gives a concise picture of Palestine in the time of Christ, in clear language, with maps and illustrations, all within 48 pages. It covers such varied items as agriculture, family life, and the religious and political parties of Judaism. Page 12 assures us that town gates used to have a small door in the centre, about 30 inches by 24 inches. Some of us would be hard-pressed to use them! There seem to be two mistakes on p. 45. Archelaus did not die in A.D. 6 but was deposed and banished to Gaul. The author also gives the impression of the years before A.D. 66 as a period of peace and good government in Palestine. The evidence seems to point to a contrary conclusion. But this book is well worth 2s. and is a good one to have by you to lend.

A Guide for Living seeks to answer the question, How do we know what is right? The answer is given in terms of the Christian fellowship, the Bible and conscience, about which there is a useful note. The author has an apt quotation from Origen on the Christian attitude to the Law of the O.T., and is particularly good when he deals with Christ's teaching. 'Our Lord was teaching about a life that was possible here and now to those who love Him.' 'He is explaining a life that He was living Himself, and which others could live if He was in them.'

His treatment of the Ten Commandments is good, particularly Nos. 4, 7 and 8, but he uses a rather unfortunate illustration of 'good causes', in pursuing which we might supplant God, namely the struggle in the West for personal advancement.

Many in the West, who desire a still higher standard of living, are not pursuing a good life, but being positively sinful at other people's expense.

K. N. JENNINGS

God Our Contemporary: by J. B. Phillips. Hodder and Stoughton. Price 3s. 6d.

First Questions on the Life of the Spirit: by Thomas E. Powers. Hodder and Stoughton. Price 15s.

Under the Wings of Their Prayers: by Margaret I. Linsey. Basil Blackwell. 4s. 6d.

Of these three new 1960 publications, *God Our Contemporary* by J. B. Phillips deserves special attention. This is the latest of the author's fifteen books. It is written in simple style, amazing clarity of thought, and penetrating in character.

The author sees a great gulf between the good men of faith and the good men of unfaith, and pleads for understanding. The former should understand the latter in the face of the fact that 'the whole language, teaching and climate of "Church" appears almost totally irrelevant to modern life'. The latter should understand the former because the irrelevancy of 'Church' is not really factual and because no intelligent seeker after truth can afford to live in complete ignorance of another man's point of view.

The author brings out the inadequacy of humanism which denies man any timeless point of reference by showing the limitations of science. He boldly presents the claims of Christianity, without being unmindful of the various criticisms against it. Men are challenged to a living faith in God who is our contemporary. The eternal God has revealed Himself by His entry into human history through Jesus Christ. The fellowship which Christ founded is the extension of His actual visit, and it is sustained by the living God. By participation in the fellowship men realize that God is their contemporary.

The issues considered in the book are by no means new. But the conviction and the soothing freshness with which the author writes will appeal to the readers.

Thomas E. Powers' book is a collection of varied materials from a questionnaire circulated among laymen to determine the greatest concerns today of those interested in religion. The book aims to make a general appeal to a faith in God and to suggest different practical aids in spiritual life. An attempt is made to satisfy the Catholic, the Protestant, the Hindu, the Muslim and all others alike, naturally with little success. The several good and profitable quotations from many scriptures and religious leaders, which it includes, are of value. Apart from this one very much doubts whether the book could be of any substantial help either to the believer or to the unbeliever.

Margaret Linsey's little book is an attempt to make available to Western readers, particularly of the Anglican ecclesiastical tradition, some of the prayers from the rich treasury of Eastern Orthodox Christianity. The author wants to share her experiences of Orthodox worship gained through the fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius. She discovers for herself that many prayers in the Orthodox treasury express also the Anglican feelings at vital points of the Holy Communion Service. So she has collected and arranged the prayers in such a way that they could be used as private prayers within the structure of the Anglican Service. Prayers from the Didache, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and so on add very much to a deeper understanding of the Holy Eucharist. This is a worth-while effort and one could reasonably expect that this little book will help to enrich and widen the spiritual life and vision of its readers.

Mar Thoma Parsonage
Madras

M. A. THOMAS

The Gospel is based not upon law, even if it be a new law, but upon Christ Himself, upon His personality. Such is the new ethics of grace and redemption. But we live on two planes, under the law and under grace, in the order of nature and in the spiritual order—and therein lies the immeasurable difficulty and complexity of a Christian's life in the world. Human society lives and builds up its kingdoms and civilizations under the power of the law; the Gospel revelation of the Kingdom of God is for it a catastrophe and the Last Judgement.

NICOLAS BERDYAEV

Books and Publications Received

Lutterworth Press:

Frank Michaeli. HOW TO UNDERSTAND THE OLD TESTAMENT (Key Books). 2sh.

John Stephens. VICTORIOUS FAITH (Key Books). 2sh.

C. F. D. Moule. A CHOSEN VESSEL (World Christian Books). 2/6sh.

G. F. Vicedom. CHURCH AND PEOPLE IN NEW GUINEA (World Christian Books). 2/6sh.

The Council of Serampore College.

THE STORY OF SERAMPORE AND ITS COLLEGE. Paper Cover Rs.3/50.
Board Cover Rs.6/50.

Oxford University Press and Cambridge University Press:

THE NEW ENGLISH BIBLE. Popular Edition 8/6sh. Library Edition 21sh.

Hodder and Stoughton:

Simons Roof. JOURNEYS ON THE RAZOR-EDGED PATH. 15sh.

J. H. Churchill. PRAYER IN PROGRESS. 10/6sh.

Leslie Lyall. COME WIND, COME WEATHER. 4/6sh.

Jessamyn West. A WOMAN'S LOVE. 8/6sh.

Ethel Emily Wallis. THE DAYUMA STORY. 16sh.

G. P. Gilmour. THE MEMOIRS CALLED GOSPELS. 21sh.

Clyde B. Clason. I AM LUCIFER. 16sh.

Hugh Burnaby. THINKING THROUGH THE CREED. 4/6sh.

H. N. Temperley. A SCIENTIST WHO BELIEVES IN GOD. 15sh.

J. M. Barrie. COURAGE. 7/6sh.

Elsie Chamberlain. CALM DELIGHT. 2/6sh.

Robert S. Paul. THE ATONEMENT AND THE SACRAMENT. 30sh.

Richard K. Young and Albert L. Meiburg. SPIRITUAL THERAPY. 15sh.

Tom Press. THE SPIRIT OF LIFE OR LIFE MORE ABUNDANT. 4/6sh.

Helen E. Waite. VALIANT COMPANIONS. 15sh.

James Davidson Ross. THE RACE BEFORE US. 18sh.

Brockhampton Press:

Joy Harrington. PAUL OF TARSUS.

Macmillan and Co.

H. Hemmer (Tr. A. T. Macmillan). FERNANAD PORTAL—APOSTLE OF UNITY. 25sh.

EGLISE VIVANTE, 1961 Mars-Avril, No. 2, Paris.

The East Asia Christian Conference:

BULLETIN OF THE EAST ASIA CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE, No. 1. September 1960.

CHURCH AND SOCIETY.

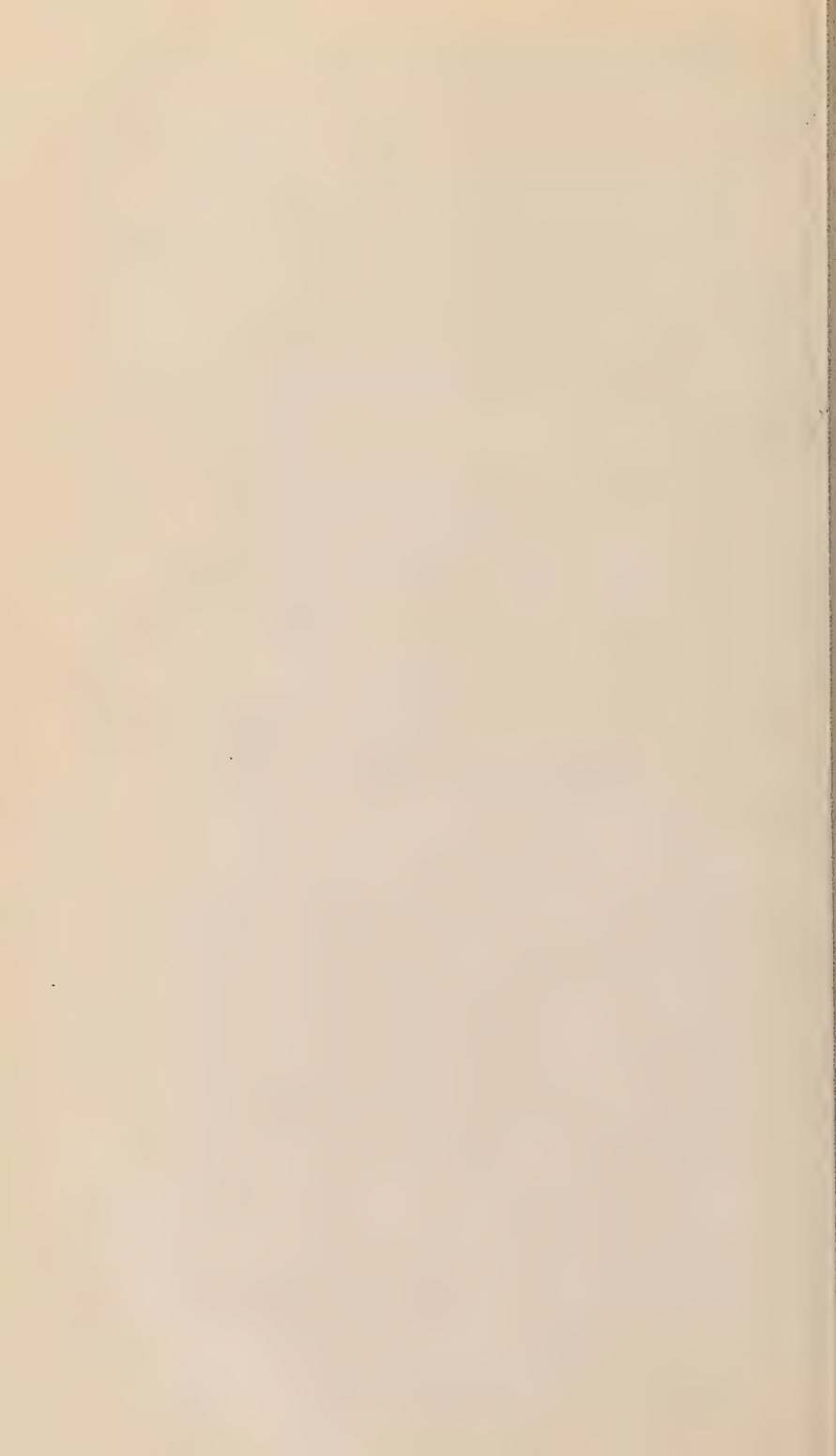
NEW FORMS OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE AND PARTICIPATION.

The Fellowship of St. Thomas and St. Paul.

THE STAR OF THE EAST, Vol. XXII, No. 1, May 1961 (A Journal dealing with the Syrian Church in India and the other Eastern Churches): The Rev. Dr. C. T. Eapen, Adur, Kerala.

Christavashram, Manganam, Kottayam, Kerala.

ARUNODAYAM, Vol. XVII, No. 9, June 1961, a Magazine with English and Malayalam sections, which serves also as of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (India).



Editorial Notes

Welcome to New Delhi

We are most delighted that from 18th November to 6th December, 1961, the third Assembly of the World Council of Churches is going to meet at the Vigyan Bhavan in New Delhi. It is a matter of deep joy that official representatives of about a hundred and eighty ecclesiastical bodies from about sixty countries as well as some of the very eminent Christian leaders and theologians from many lands will be coming to India to take part in its deliberations. The Editorial Board of *The Indian Journal of Theology* would like to take this opportunity to accord a very sincere and hearty welcome to the Assembly as also to all those who participate in it.

Although as an organization the World Council of Churches is only thirteen years old, it has fully justified its existence during this short period of time. The very large number of Churches that constitute its membership is a clear indication of the confidence and trust which the World Council has been able to awaken in them. Besides, we learn that a number of ecclesiastical bodies, including the Russian Orthodox Church, have recently applied for membership in it, and that the Roman Catholic Church will be sending Visitors to the New Delhi meeting of the Assembly.

The significance of the work which the World Council of Churches is trying to do cannot be gainsaid. For it aims to maintain itself as 'an instrument forged by the churches to enable them to fulfil their common calling in witness and service and to prepare for a clearer manifestation of the unity of the Church'. Even though our Lord intended His Church to be one undivided fellowship of all those who believe in Him, factions arose in it from very early times and divisions that continue to our day began in the fifth century. Then from the sixteenth century the Church in the West came under a process of proliferation. In other words, the one Christian fellowship has come to lie buried in the ruins of a disunited Christendom. It is in the context of this unfortunate fact that the World Council of Churches has, in the providence of God, been organized. It offers itself as a means through which the Churches associated with it will be able, on the one hand, to recognize and express, in so far as they can, the unity that already exists among them, and on the other, to work together in areas of common concern. The World Council of Churches does not function over against the Churches, for its *raison d'être*

is their willing co-operation ; neither does it have a programme to unify the Churches in the world, for that is a matter for them to work out as they are constrained by the Holy Spirit. At the same time the World Council of Churches offers the many organized bodies into which the one Christian fellowship has come to be divided a great opportunity, even in the midst of their disunited existence, to live and work together, unitedly facing the many problems confronting them, and above all to grow into the fullness of unity for which our Lord has so earnestly prayed (St. John 17 : 20-21).

This is an extremely delicate function for the World Council of Churches to fulfil, and we believe that the meeting of the Assembly in New Delhi will be a step further up the ladder by which the Holy Spirit guides the Churches to attain to its achievement. With all best wishes we extend a very warm welcome to New Delhi to all those who are associated with the meeting of the third Assembly of the World Council of Churches.

ABOUT THIS NUMBER

We are publishing in this number of *The Indian Journal of Theology* three of the remaining papers read at the Indian Christian Theological Conference held at the Gurukul Lutheran Theological College, Madras, from 28th to 31st December, 1960. The last two papers read there, we hope, will be published in the next number of this *Journal*.

Therefore, as I have already said, He caused man to become one with God. For unless a man had overcome the enemy of man, the enemy would not have been legitimately vanquished. And again : unless God had freely given salvation, we would not now possess it securely. And unless man had been joined to God, he could never become a partaker of incorruptibility. For it was incumbent upon the Mediator between God and men, by His relationship to both, to bring both to friendship and concord, and present man to God, while He revealed God to man.

ST. IRENAEUS

INDIAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY

Statement of Accounts for the year 1960

INCOME

	Rs. nP.		Rs. nP.
Balance as on 1-1-1960	...	Printing (only Nos. 1, 2 and 4)	...
Subscriptions and Sales	...	Stationery	...
Advertisements	...	Postage	...
	...	Bank Charges	...
	...	Other Expenses	...
	...	Repaid Advance	...
	...	Balance as on 31-12-60:	...

Rs. nP.

Bank ... 543.54
Cash ... 177.82

... 721.36

TOTAL ... Rs.2,966.33

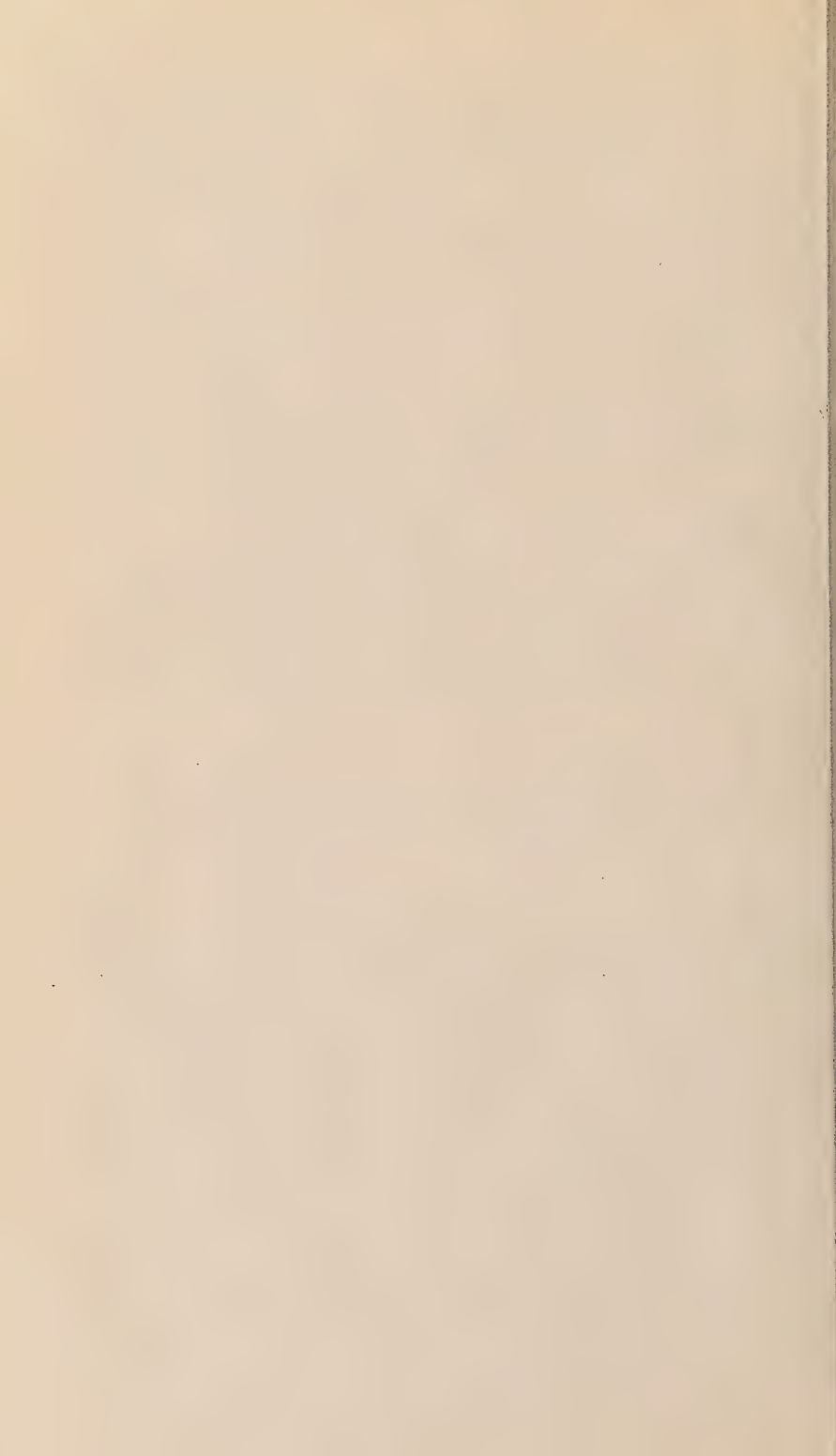
TOTAL

... Rs.2,966.33

Audited and found correct,
D. F. HUDSON

D. A. CHRISTADOSS,
Business Manager

19-7-1961



A Brief Historical Survey of the Council of Chalcedon

V. C. SAMUEL

In a previous article published in *The Indian Journal of Theology* for January, 1961, the present writer has pleaded for a fresh study and evaluation of the Chalcedonian schism. To bring out more clearly the point of the plea it is necessary to deal briefly with the history of the Council of Chalcedon and also with the theological position of its ancient critics in the East. Of these two, the present paper intends to take up the first; the second will be discussed in a paper to be published in the next number of *The Indian Journal of Theology*.

The Background of the Council of Chalcedon.—There are five facts which constitute the background of the Council of Chalcedon. They are: (1) The Christological teaching of the Antiochene and the Alexandrine ways of theological thinking; (2) the Council of Ephesus in 431, which condemned Nestorius as a heretic; (3) the *Formulary of Reunion*, by which in 433 Cyril of Alexandria, the leader of the Alexandrine party, and John of Antioch, the leader of the Antiochene party, arrived at a concordat; (4) the Home Synod of Constantinople, which in 448 excommunicated Eutyches as a heretic; and (5) the second Council of Ephesus in 449, which, having reinstated Eutyches, deposed his judges at Constantinople as well as a number of the leading men on the Antiochene side.

It is not possible to discuss these topics within the short space permissible in this paper. It may simply be noted that there was a conflict between the Antiochene and the Alexandrine points of view; that the Council of 431 was an absolute victory for the latter; and that the *Formulary of Reunion* did ratify the decisions of the Council of 431. But neither the Home Synod of Constantinople nor the Council of Chalcedon endorsed fully the theological emphasis of Ephesus. On the other hand, they ignored the third letter of Cyril to Nestorius, which the Council of 431 had definitely declared orthodox, and assigned to the *Formulary* the status of a document of the faith, which the Alexandrines had not wished to grant it. The second Council of Ephesus expressed a reaction, invoking the authority of the Council of 431.

The Condemnation of Eutyches.—The decisions of the Council of Chalcedon had a negative and a positive side. Negatively it assumed the rightness of the condemnation of Eutyches and brought about the deposition of Dioscorus of Alexandria; and positively it accepted the *Tome of Leo* as a document of the faith and drew up a definition of the faith. Of these four points, we shall look into the condemnation of Eutyches first.

There is rather unanimous agreement among scholars that Eutyches was not a theologian. He must have been a trouble-maker on the side of the Alexandrines. But to class him as a heretic with men like Paul of Samosata, Arius, Apollinarius, and so on is not a compliment to those able minds. In the words of R. V. Sellers, 'if we are to understand Eutyches aright, we must not think of him as the instructed theologian, prepared to discuss the doctrine of the Incarnation. Rather does he appear as the simple monk who, having renounced the world, had also renounced all theological enquiry'.¹ J. N. D. Kelly admits that Eutyches was 'a confused and unskilled thinker', and that he 'was no Docetist or Apollinarian' as the bishops who had condemned him at Constantinople had decreed. Kelly thinks that 'if strained in that direction', his views would be 'possibly susceptible of an orthodox interpretation', but that it lacked 'the required balance'. In any case, 'If his condemnation is to be justified, it must be in the light of more far-reaching consideration'.²

With reference to the condemnation of Eutyches, there is one important point which deserves to be mentioned. When Eutyches appeared before the Synod at Constantinople in 448 and his trial started, he held forth a paper, testifying that it contained his confession of the faith and requested that it be read. No one present was apparently keen on knowing its contents and the paper was not given a reading.³ At the second Council of Ephesus, before he was rehabilitated, his confession was read. In it he anathematized all heretics, Manes, Valentinus, Apollinarius, Nestorius, and all others back to Simon Magus. Then he went on to register his dissent from those who maintained that the body of our Lord had come down from heaven, and added these words: 'For He Himself who is the Word of God descended from heaven, without flesh, was made flesh of the very flesh of the Virgin unchangeably and inconvertibly in a way that He Himself knew and willed. And He who is always perfect God before the ages, the Same also was made perfect man for us and for our salvation'.⁴

¹ R. V. Sellers: *The Council of Chalcedon*, p. 59.

² J. N. D. Kelly: *Early Christian Doctrines*, p. 333.

³ See the trial of Eutyches by the Home Synod of Constantinople as reported in Mansi, VI, 729-748.

⁴ The above passage is a translation from the Latin version contained in Hahn's *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche*. Severus of Antioch refers to this passage in a letter published in *Patrologia Orientalis*, Vol. XII, pp. 266-268.

At Chalcedon, the confession of Eutyches was read only up to the place where he expressed his disagreement with the view that our Lord's body had come down from heaven. At that critical moment Eusebius of Dorylaeum, his accuser, interrupted the reading by saying that Eutyches did not specify where our Lord's body was from. Then there followed a tumult, after which the subject changed to something else, and the words of Eutyches which answered the charge of Eusebius were not read at all.⁵

In other words, the Council of Chalcedon did not prove a charge of heresy against Eutyches, but assumed without even looking into his own confession of the faith that he was a heretic.

The Deposition of Dioscorus.—The Council of Chalcedon opened its first session on 8th October, 451. No sooner had the assembled delegates been seated than the leader of the representatives of the Roman see demanded the exclusion of Dioscorus from the Council. On being asked the reason for the demand by the Imperial Commissioners—men appointed by the emperor as presiding officers at all the sessions of the Council—the Roman delegation answered that Dioscorus had dominated the Council of 449, and that his expulsion from the Council was the wish of the Archbishop whom they represented.⁶ Rather unwillingly the Commissioners granted the demand and Dioscorus was removed from his seat in the assembly to the place reserved for men on trial.

Now on the strength of a petition against Dioscorus the Council proceeded to examine him. The charges contained in it as well as those spoken against him in the course of the session were based on the main allegation that he dominated the Council of 449, and they were chiefly four: (i) He had infringed upon the faith of the Church by trying to establish the heresy of Eutyches as orthodoxy; (ii) he did not let the *Tome of Leo* be read to the Council of 449; (iii) he caused a number of men to be unjustly deposed; and (iv) he employed so much of violence at the Council that, in order not to be exposed, he distributed blank papers and forced the delegates to copy his version of the Council's minutes.⁷ To investigate the charges the minutes of the Council of 449 were read. No other evidence, not even a single word of his either spoken or written or an action of his apart from what had happened at Ephesus, was ever so much as mentioned against him.

⁵ See Mansi, VI, 633.

⁶ In this connection the Roman delegation made a statement which contains these words. Dioscorus, they said, 'seized and dominated the office of the judge, and dared to conduct a Council without authorization from the Apostolic See, a thing which has never happened and which ought not to happen' (Mansi, VI, 580-581). The assertion that no Council had met earlier or ought to meet in the future without an authorization from Rome has no basis in history. Are we justified in assuming that this assertion had nothing to do with the way the Council was conducted?

⁷ This charge was answered by Dioscorus. When it was made by Stephen of Ephesus, Dioscorus was horrified. In the end he requested that his copy of the minutes be compared with that of Stephen himself to see whether there was any truth in the accusation (Mansi, VI, 625).

It should be remembered that the party opposed to Dioscorus at Chalcedon counted heavily on the support of the state, and that they hoped to hold him solely responsible for the decision of 449. The Commissioners, however, did not agree with them fully. For at the close of the long process of trial they gave their verdict. Dioscorus of Alexandria, they said, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Caesarea, Eusebius of Ancyra, Eustathius of Berytus, and Basil of Seleucia were the men who had controlled the Council of 449, and that they should all be deposed forthwith. This verdict itself is based on the questionable assumption that Eutyches had been justly condemned. At the same time it is significant, for it virtually called in question the justifiability of singling out Dioscorus as the man responsible for the Council of 449 and established the fact that its decisions were conciliar.

It should be noted in the present context that the Home Synod of Constantinople had condemned Eutyches, assuming as orthodox three propositions: One, that Jesus Christ is 'two natures after the Incarnation'; two, that He is 'of the same substance with us' as well as 'of the same substance with the Father'; and three, that He is *not* 'one incarnate nature of God the Word'. The Council of 449 showed that a considerable part of Eastern Christendom would resist the theological position based on these propositions, and that Dioscorus was its leader. It would appear that the men who were at the leadership of the Council of Chalcedon endeavoured, counting on state support, to throw overboard Dioscorus and make out that the entire East stood with the theological basis of the condemnation of Eutyches. However, the verdict of the Commissioners, condemning six men, and not Dioscorus alone, did not seem to have left room for its achievement. Was it this problem that the victorious party was trying, as we shall see in a moment, to get over by arranging a special gathering of their own and passing a resolution in favour of deposing Dioscorus?

In the absence of the men condemned by the Commissioners, who were most probably taken under custody by the state, the second session of the Council met on 10th October. With a view to arriving at a decision regarding the question of the faith, the Commissioners ruled that the Creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople, the second letter of Cyril to Nestorius, the *Formulary of Reunion* and the *Tome of Leo* be read to the assembly. The third letter of Cyril to Nestorius was not even mentioned in this connection, though the Commissioners referred to the *Formulary* which had been composed only in 433 as a document read and approved at Ephesus in 431.⁸ The Palestinian and the Illyrian bishops, however, raised objection to three passages in the *Tome* and Atticus of Nicopolis asked for time to read and compare the *Tome* with the third letter of Cyril to Nestorius. In the end the Commissioners declared a period of five days as interval for the

⁸ Mansi, VI, 937.

bishops to meet with Anatolius of Constantinople and have their doubts cleared regarding the *Tome*.

Three days later, on 13th October, about two hundred⁹ of a total number of about three hundred and fifty¹⁰ bishops met together without the Commissioners. Presided over by the chief of the Roman delegation, this gathering took up for examination a new petition against Dioscorus containing only the old and unproved charges. The Patriarch of Alexandria was now summoned three times to appear and make his defence. He refused to comply on the main ground that he could not be present before an assembly which was meeting without the Commissioners and the men condemned with him. During its sitting four other petitions against Dioscorus were also submitted. One of them, presented by a deacon of Alexandria, alleged that Dioscorus had, on his way to Chalcedon, excommunicated Pope Leo of Rome.¹¹ To this the Roman delegation added another charge, namely that Dioscorus had offered *koinonia* to Eutyches before the latter had been reinstated by the Council of Ephesus in 449.¹² Taking the word in the sense of Eucharistic fellowship, scholars like Kidd, Hefele, Sellers, and others have blamed Dioscorus for violating the discipline of the Church. However, the fact is that if it meant Eucharistic fellowship, Archbishop Leo was not less guilty of that offence than Dioscorus; for the Roman delegation testified at Chalcedon that he had offered *koinonia*¹³ to Theodoret of Cyrus while the latter was awaiting exoneration by Chalcedon against a sentence of deposition pronounced by the second Council of Ephesus.

Before the bishops gave their verdict against Dioscorus the Roman delegation made a rather lengthy statement about him. It was concluded in these words:

Wherefore, Leo, the most blessed and holy Archbishop of the greater and elder Rome, has by the agency of ourselves and the present Synod, in conjunction with the thrice-holy and all-honoured Peter, the Rock of the Catholic Church and the Foundation of the orthodox Faith, deprived him of all the episcopal dignity, and severed him from every priestly function. Accordingly, this holy and great Synod decrees the provisions of the canon on the aforesaid Dioscorus.¹⁴

In their verdict the bishops simply said that Dioscorus was deposed on the ground of disobedience and contempt of the Council.¹⁵ On a later occasion Anatolius of Constantinople, one

⁹ Hefele: *History of the Councils of the Church*, Eng. tr., Vol. III, p. 320. Mansi's list of participants at this session has only two hundred names.

¹⁰ Mansi's list contains only about three hundred and fifty names.

¹¹ Mansi, VI, 1009.

¹² Mansi, VI, 1045.

¹³ Mansi, VII, 189-192.

¹⁴ Mansi, VI, 1045-1048.

¹⁵ Mansi, VI, 1093-1096.

of the chief figures at the Council, made it clear that Dioscorus had not been deposed on a point of faith.¹⁶

Sellers admits that Dioscorus was not 'a preacher of the "confusion" of the two natures of Jesus Christ', and that for him 'the Lord's manhood is real—for he is no follower of Apollinarius—and remains real in its union with the divine Logos'.¹⁷ In other words Dioscorus was a teacher of Alexandrine orthodoxy.

Why, then, was he deposed? Why is it that only a little more than half of the delegates to the Council participated in the act of expelling him from the Church? Why did these bishops convene a special meeting for the purpose and why did they meet in the absence of the Imperial Commissioners who were present at every session of the Council? These are some of the questions which should be answered on the basis of documentary evidence, if an accurate history of the Council of Chalcedon is to be constructed at all.

The Tome and the Chalcedonian Definition of the Faith.—On 17th October, the fourth day after the deposition of Dioscorus, the third session of the Council was held with the Imperial Commissioners presiding. They opened the proceedings by summarizing the decisions of the two previous sessions, but saying not even a word about the gathering of the bishops that deposed Dioscorus on 13th October. Soon the *Tome* was accepted without the expression of a single word of disagreement from any one present. Now the bishops clamoured for the readmission of the five men who had been condemned with Dioscorus. On this occasion the Commissioners answered, 'We have referred their question to the emperor, and are awaiting his reply. As for your excommunication of Dioscorus and your decision to readmit the other five, both the emperor and we are ignorant of it. For everything that has been done at the holy Synod, it shall be responsible to God'.¹⁸

Is not this statement a clear indication that the Commissioners were not in favour of meting out to Dioscorus any special treatment?

The emperor wanted to have two ideas worked out through the Council. In the first place, he cared to have the *Tome* accepted by the Council as a document of the faith; and secondly, he was rather insistent that a statement of the faith be drawn up and approved by the assembly. As already noted, the bishops accepted the *Tome*; but when it came to the question of the statement of the faith, the Eastern bishops presented a draft definition and demanded its adoption by the Council. Surprisingly enough, it contained only the phrase 'of two natures', which had been fully approved by Dioscorus. It may be noted that the conflict between the party of Dioscorus on the one hand and that of the Antiochenes and the Westerns on the other centred round

¹⁶ Mansi, VII, 104.

¹⁷ Sellers: *The Council of Chalcedon*, op. cit., pp. 30-32.

¹⁸ Mansi, VII, 48.

two phrases. The former insisted that Jesus Christ should be spoken of only as 'of two natures'; and the latter that He must be affirmed to be 'in two natures'. The draft definition of the bishops, however, deliberately excluded the phrase 'in two natures' and employed 'of two natures'.

The Eastern delegates had come to the assembly, not only with their draft definition with the phrase 'of two natures', but also ready even to fight, if need be, for its adoption.¹⁹ Seeing their determination, the Roman delegation gave out the threat that if the phrase 'in two natures' which the *Tome* had employed was not going to be adopted in the definition of the faith, they would tender their resignation and dissociate themselves from the Council.²⁰ Even this did not perturb the Easterns, and the Illyrian bishops retorted to the effect that those who were opposed to the draft definition were Nestorians and that they might feel free to wend their way to Rome.¹²

The Commissioners had to employ different means to bring the men to a receptive mood. In the first place, they suggested the formation of a Committee to draw up a new statement. The bishops could see no need for that. Secondly, they asked the bishops whether they had not accepted the *Tome*, and they answered in the affirmative. The Commissioners now pointed out that the phrase 'in two natures' was central to that document and that it should be adopted in the statement to be drawn up. The bishops retorted in effect that just as they had accepted the *Tome*, let the bishop of Rome subscribe to their statement and make it possible for a mutual recognition of orthodoxy. In the end the Commissioners achieved the goal by playing Leo and Dioscorus against each other. The condemned Dioscorus, they said, was willing to accept the phrase 'of two natures'; but Archbishop Leo insisted on 'in two natures'; whom did they want to follow? Pressed to that unexpected corner, the bishops answered that they would follow Leo. In that case, demanded the Commissioners, they ought to agree to adopt the phrase 'in two natures' in the definition. The logic of the argument was irresistible and the bishops simply made their submission. The Chalcedonian Definition of the Faith was then drawn up and the Council formally accepted it.

Conclusion.—For any real understanding of the Council of Chalcedon the facts mentioned above are of the utmost significance. The present writer regrets to say that he has not seen any modern work on the Council in which these facts are all at least mentioned. It is not possible in a short paper like this to attempt a reconstruction of the history of the Council of Chalcedon. The following points may simply be noted:

¹⁹ See Mansi, VII, 100–104, for the determined effort of the bishops to have their draft definition adopted by the Council with the phrase 'of two natures' and without 'in two natures'.

²⁰ Mansi, VII, 101.

²¹ Mansi, VII, 105.

1. Granting unhesitatingly that the ideas ascribed to Eutyches are heretical, the fact is that neither at the Home Synod of Constantinople nor at the Council of Chalcedon was it clearly established that he had taught them.

2. Though Dioscorus was accused of many charges at Chalcedon, not even one of them was proved against him. The surprising fact is that the ideas ascribed by many to Dioscorus have really no basis either in his statements made at Chalcedon or in the fragments of his writings that have come down to us.

3. The Chalcedonian Definition of the Faith came to adopt the phrase 'in two natures' very much against the wish of a great bloc of Eastern bishops. This was done, so far as we have evidence, not subsequent to a theological discussion of the issues, but on the logic that the bishop of Rome had to be respected more than a condemned Dioscorus, that the former had employed the phrase in the *Tome*, and that therefore it had to be accepted.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

The Rev. Dr. V. C. Samuel is on the staff of the Serampore College.

The Rev. Dr. P. D. Devanandan is Director, Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, Bangalore.

The Rev. Emmanuel Sadiq is Director, Henry Martyn School, Aligarh.

The Rev. J. Kumaresan is on the staff of the Gurukul Lutheran Theological College, Madras.

Man in Society according to Neo-Hinduism in the Light of the Christian Faith

P. D. DEVANANDAN

MAN IN SOCIETY

The concept of man in society is a modern concept. Of recent times we have come to accept not only the worth of the individual person of man as a separate entity, but also the collective significance of men and women in the network of human relations which we call society. Increasingly, we realize that only in as far as an individual is wholesomely related to others, constituting together a community, does that individual find full scope for self-expression and self-fulfilment.

This understanding of man implies that he is so made that, in order to grow into anything like perfection, his innate capacity to influence others and be influenced by others should be given sufficient scope. Personal relations which underlie the concept of man in society presuppose the view that there is the possibility of the meaningful confrontation of man and man in purposefully seeking a common good. Secondly, in modern times, we place great store by human personality. It is the worth and dignity of the human person that should be safeguarded, we claim. Moreover, we require that there should be freedom for the human person to establish and develop responsible relations with other human persons. Thus society is expected to provide the context of such a network of relations through adequate social institutions, such as the family and the State, to cite but two examples, in which responsible human relations can be fostered, and personality growth and fulfilment made possible.

'Personality' and 'community' seem to be the two emphases in the modern conception of human society. But these are closely bound up with religion, for essentially religion is concerned with the fulfilment of the human person, not in isolation of self but in community of being. The religious view of man therefore, in all cultures, has correspondingly changed in recent times in recognition of the new demand that contemporary life makes upon religion. All religions now have to reckon with man

in society, in all the complexities of the social, economic and political bonds which tie people together in a new sense of solidarity. Hinduism has been no exception. In a way the impact of this change has been perhaps more forceful in India than elsewhere. Also, the living nature of Hinduism as the dynamic faith of a people is in part responsible for its readiness to respond to the changing factors of contemporary life. Moreover, Hindu religion is very closely tied up with Hindu culture, so that any cultural change has corresponding consequences on religious thought and practice.

Fundamentally the new understanding of man in society involves a cultural shift of direction. In primitive culture everywhere it was the tribe that was determinative. The individual as such counted for very little. Any worth he possessed was derived from the fact that he belonged to a group. The myth of the blood-tie gave the tribe a sense of group solidarity. There was no confrontation of individual and individual but of group and group, for the individual was but part of a tribe. All decisions were group decisions, the individual conformed implicitly to the dictates of the collective decisions of the tribe as such. No greater disaster could overtake an individual than to be disowned by the tribe to which he belonged, and such social ostracism was the costly price of nonconformity. In primitive culture then the individual was made for society. As an individual person, man had no independent value. Rural culture in many respects still retains the characteristics of this primitive tribal culture.

With the development of commerce and industry, the adoption of a monetary economy, and the acceptance of the machine, the beginnings of an urban culture become manifest. It is now urged that the good of the individual is not always the good of the group. All rationalism tends towards individualism. Freedom is now demanded for individual initiative and enterprise. But it was increasingly concerned with self-aggrandizement and advance, whether in isolation or in close association with other individuals. Now man is no longer identified with the group but isolated from the group. It is man against society. In a sense this is characteristic of individual, of industrial culture as against agrarian culture, or urban economy as against rural economy. And religion in this age seems to have reflected that temper too. Sectarian Hinduism, for instance, is a phenomenon characteristic of that period of individualism in Indian history, as Protestant Christianity is representative of Western individualism. In either case, there is a corresponding emphasis in the religious evaluation of man and society, where primacy is given man and society is secondary in that it is regarded as contributing to the welfare of the individual which came first.

Several factors have contributed to the cultural change which followed the age of individualism. Some of these were referred to in the earlier section of this paper. In any case the change was necessitated by the new understanding of person and community. In part it was due to a reaction against the depersonalization

which followed in the wake of industrialism. In part also it was the result of fuller acquaintance with the psychology of the human person ; a closer understanding of the meaning of human relations involved in government which tended to place more and more emphasis on democratic control ; and in the greater recognition being accorded to the worthfulness of the human being, whether man or woman, and to the rights that inhere in the very fact of human existence. Thus emerges what may be called a sociitarian view of man, which in turn of modern times has considerably influenced religious thought and practice the world over.

In all cultures man has been regarded not only as a separate individual but as an individual who is involved in a group. In fact, the earlier view of man would seem to be of man only in relation to the group of which he formed part. Individual was derived from the social worth of the group to which he belonged. In Hindu culture this view of man persists. The caste system, which until recent times was the accepted pattern of group life in Hindu culture, was a powerful factor in deciding the status, occupation and worth of any man. Even today the tendency persists to regard any man in terms of the caste group with which he is identified.

The bonds of group life, with which go certain accepted rights and duties comprised in what may be called *kula dharma*, are of course different from the rights and obligations which are connected with the modern understanding of belonging in society (*lokasamgraha*). The difference is due to our conception of society as it is now being subject to radical change. The change is both inevitable and enforced ; it is brought on by the rapid advance in industrialism, technology and the art of governments ; and to a large extent this change has come to us from the outside world.

MOVEMENTS IN HINDUISM

The beginnings of this new impact in traditional Hinduism are manifest as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century. From then on there has been a steady modification of the concepts of man and of society in Hindu thought and practice. Perhaps the greatest force in making for this change was nationalism. In the earlier phase the primary concern was to achieve political independence by throwing off foreign rule. In its later phase the chief preoccupation is nation-building, the creation of a stable social structure, a pattern of society which will promote a sense of national community, economic security and social justice. This later phase of nationalism is a living force in our day.

One of the characteristic features of Indian nationalism is that it has been closely bound up with religion. Nationalism in India from its early beginnings turned to religion for its inspiration and drive. This has been very obvious in the teachings of all national leaders, beginning with Ram Mohan Roy on to Vinoba Bhave. To state it briefly, they laid emphasis on (i) worthfulness

of the human individual ; (ii) the equality of the sexes ; (iii) freedom from social restrictions which prevented the development of individual personality ; (iv) development of a sense of social solidarity which transcended the distinction of class, caste and creed ; and (v) realization of social justice in the concrete situations of everyday concern.

In the earlier stages, all these efforts were limited to the activity of small groups of interested reformers. These were largely drawn from the Hindu intellectuals, and the concern was concentrated on the removal of caste disabilities and the restoration of rights to the woman in society. The spread of education which was increasingly influenced by Western liberalism was another important factor. The very ideal of nationalism which claimed freedom as a birthright was due in great part to the new education.

From the beginning of the twentieth century there is a noticeable trend towards accepting Western values in regard to the understanding of man and of society. The humanism of Tagore, the revolutionary political activity of the Terrorists, led earlier by Aurobindo and later by Subhas Bose, the fierce religious nationalism tending towards Hindu communalistic movements headed by Tilak, Savarkar, and Golwalkar, and the mass movement of satyagraha which was the final phase of nationalism inspired by Mahatma Gandhi—all these were undoubtedly influenced by Western concepts in regard to man and society.

But at the same time increasing emphasis was also placed upon the tendency to relate these new ideas to the traditional concepts of Hindu religious orthodoxy. To some extent this was due to the desire to show that in accepting these Western concepts they were *not* accepting Christian doctrines. A determined effort was made to indicate that not only were these ideas related to traditionally accepted doctrines but the claim is now set forth that they are in fact derived from and based upon scriptural sanctions. At first the reformers turned to the Upanishads. This was true in the case of the Brahmo Samaj. But for lack of sufficient emphasis in Upanishadic literature for a theistic justification for the new teaching about man in society, a later generation of reformers under the leadership of the Arya Samaj turned instead to the Vedas, the Rigveda in particular. More recently, however, needed scriptural support has been found rather in the Bhagavad Gita. This is not surprising because in a special sense Gita teachings lend themselves to the social needs of the modern Hindu man. The Sankhyan analysis of human nature is easily adapted to the contemporary need for explanation of economic and social disparity. Similarly, the Gita doctrine of *nishkama karma* seemingly gives support and provides the motive for social service. Likewise, the Gita emphasis on *svadharma* and *lokasamgraha*, both re-interpreted so as to provide a dynamic and religious faith to the modern Hindu understanding of personality and community. Also, the Gita teachings about *varna dharma* and *karma samsara* are frequently cited to explain the modern view in regard to caste and the persistent belief in transmigration.

Another trend is towards re-emphasizing the Vedantic doctrine of unity in diversity, with particular reference to the modern understanding of man in society. It is contended that while individual differences ought to be granted as both valid and necessary for personality development, it is at the same time argued that, despite the empirical fact of diversity, there is underlying it all a unity of being which is ultimate and transcendental. In neo-Hindu interpretation of man in society there has been a steady movement from the nineteenth century on towards a revival and a restatement of the Vedanta as providing for this new concept a sufficient metaphysical basis. The first step towards this end was taken by Ramakrishna Paramahansa. It was later developed by Swami Vivekananda and members of the Ramakrishna Order. Today it is being expounded with considerable vigour and acceptance by Dr. Radhakrishnan. Radhakrishnan has no difficulty in accepting the wealth of meaning content that modern Western thinkers put into such terms as personality and the community, but at the same time would claim that he sees no difficulties in reconciling them with the basic affirmations of Vedanta. What is more, he would go further and maintain that these modern concepts are in fact derived from the Vedanta view of life.

The aftermath of freedom and independence in India brought into relief problems created by the persistence in some form or other of the traditional understanding of man in relation to society as crystallized in caste system, and in the joint family as a social institution, with its characteristic conception of the marriage relation, the status of the woman, and hereditary occupational bias. They came into conflict with the new way of life made necessary by the acceptance of the democratic principle as conditioning social and political institutions as well as the adaptation of an industrial economy with which is associated a different conception of work. Even more so, the modern emphasis upon a this-worldly character of life and work, introducing a new secularism, a different understanding of history as determined by human decisions and directed to the realization of ends that further good of man and society in the here and now.

To some extent, these conflicts are resolved in new Hindu thinking in the central concepts of Ramrajya and Sarvodaya which constitute the main teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and his disciple, Vinoba Bhave. As they are now interpreted these ideals bring to bear new standards of conduct for modern Hindu man in contemporary Hindu society. The terms employed in the exposition of these ideals are all derived from classical Hindu religious usage—*ahimsa*, *asteya*, and *aparigraha*. But as they are re-interpreted today to provide the basis of a new Hindu social ethic they acquire totally different meanings. *Ahimsa* does not merely stand for non-injury but provides a sacred principle which invests human life with infinite worth. Likewise, far from being limited in meaning to 'stealing', that is misappropriating others' goods,

asteya has come to be applied to all forms of economic exploitation which may be described as social injustice. This is obvious in the way Vinoba Bhave proclaims his gospel of *bhudan yajna* in its wider application of the fivefold various *dans* (*bhoomi*, *srama*, *sampat*, *buddhi*, and *jivan*). Similarly the word *aparigraha*, which means literally 'non-grabbing', is employed to convey the idea of covetousness. This is because Vinoba maintains that the sole proprietor of all goods is God Himself. On this basis he establishes the Sarvodaya doctrine of trusteeship of all property. And property is not only understood in terms of economic wealth but of all individual possession. This teaching is strangely parallel to the Christian understanding of all endowments as 'talents' to be utilized not for self-advancement but for 'the welfare of all' (Sarvodaya).

IN THE LIGHT OF CHRISTIAN FAITH

It is true that Hindu leaders refuse to admit that Christian teachings have influenced all these re-interpretations. Nor may we, as Christians, take credit where credit is not due, for the fact remains that such influence as we may claim is not that of authentic Christian faith. What the Hindu has appropriated is his own interpretation of Christian values. These values have been partly taken from our imperfect preaching of the gospel. But in great part it is due to the impact of Western thought. Also, the Hindu, however willing to restate the fundamentals of his faith, does not want to cut loose from the ancestral moorings of traditional orthodoxy. This is apparent from the fact that in neo-Hinduism there is conscious effort to seek scriptural support at every step, to maintain a continuity, however tenuous, with past heritage and to safeguard the essential identity of Hinduism among the religions of the world.

In consequence, it may be pointed out that from the standpoint of Christian faith the understanding of man in society in neo-Hinduism is limited. The limitation would seem to be due to (i) want of a realistic understanding of man as a sinful creature, (ii) the tendency to explain the nature and destiny of man in terms of a metaphysics of ultimate being rather than in terms of a theology of the purposive Will of a personal god, (iii) the persistence of a view of world life as in some way severely apart from transcendental Being and conditioned by its own principle of karma samsara, (iv) the unwillingness to totally discard outworn social institutions because they have been hallowed by time and therefore need to be preserved in some way or another as being traditionally Hindu, and (v) the understanding of all religious beliefs as some form or another of self-discipline (*yoga*) whereby man through his own efforts can achieve perfection.

Merely to indicate that Hindu metaphysics does not justify the contemporary Hindu concern in life in the here and now does not help. The fact remains that modern Hinduism is tremendously concerned with all that life in our world means and ought to mean for modern man. It would look as though modern

Hindu secularism served as a much-needed corrective wherever religion has tended to become other-worldly and pietistic. The real problem in Hindu India is to effect a synthesis between the traditional world-view and contemporary secularism. Thoughtful Hindu leaders are wrestling with this problem and it is in relation to this concern that the good news of God incarnate in Jesus Christ will have to be spelled out.

Much has been said and written about personality in recent times, both from the purely psychological and from the more definite Christian point of view. And perhaps we have learnt a great deal from the writings of the great Jewish thinker, Martin Buber. The essential nature of personality consists in the fact of the responsible relationship between living beings where the other being is fully grasped and treated now as a subject and now as an object. One of the significant developments in contemporary Hindu society, as we have noticed earlier on, is the growing awareness that men are set in a world of personal relations with other persons. And, as Dr. H. H. Farmer has argued in his book, *Towards Belief in God*, 'It would seem therefore legitimate to expect that our awareness of one another as personal beings should afford some clue to our awareness of God as personal. If there is a divine reality which is (a) akin to ourselves in respect of being intelligent purpose, yet (b) always non-akin to ourselves in respect of being divine, it is to be expected that He should disclose Himself to us in a way which (a) is similar to that in which we become aware of one another's intelligent personal purpose, yet which (b) has, without losing similarity, a certain distinctive quality of its own conformable with its distinctive origin.'

Again, Hindu thinking obviously believes in the agency of man and his capacity to order world life with purposive determination to realize common good. Thus the responsibility of man for his action, and its consequent effect on his nature and destiny have given new importance to world life and history, in Hindu thinking. Whether Hindus are conscious of this shift of emphasis or not, the fact remains that modern Hinduism is evolving a new conception of history.

This has become inevitable in modern Hinduism, obviously because of a shift of religious interest, beginning with the nineteenth century, from speculation about the nature of the Absolute to a new understanding about the nature of man. In other words, the determinative doctrine in the evaluation of the Hindu outlook of life is no longer derived from its classical theology, but is being built upon a new anthropology. This anthropology is perhaps still in the making. Nevertheless, the primary question that is of dominant concern to the modern Hindu thinker is the nature and destiny of man—what is man and whither is he bound?

If this analysis is true—and there are valid reasons to hold that it is—then it follows that this new conception of history in the making in modern India will have to come to terms with the classical view about God and Reality that had so long held the field. Certain consequences are inevitable. One is that an attempt

should be made to reconcile the new anthropology with the classical theology. This is a task which is by no means easy because far in Hindu thinking the affirmation of the reality of the one has always been at the expense of the reality of the other. The Christian view of man as God's creature and of God as man's Creator has provided the solution in Christian thought. But in Hindu thinking to accept the doctrine of the creation would be to do violence to the nature of God as Absolute Being, who cannot be in any way involved in world life. Secondly, Hindu thinking will have to come to terms with the whole idea of personality as applied both to finite and infinite being. And at the heart of the modern view of personality is the belief in the possibility of relationship. Thirdly, there is a new demand for the realization of true community. Such community is the consequence of purposive endeavour in which responsible beings enter into creative relationship, because they are bound together as persons in relation to the Person.

The dignity of man is that he is the child of God, capable of communion with God, the object of the Love of God—such love as is displayed on the Cross—and destined for eternal fellowship with God. His true value is not what he is worth in himself or to his earthly state, but what he is worth to God; and that worth is bestowed on him by the utterly gratuitous Love of God.

WILLIAM TEMPLE

Man in Society according to Islam with a Christian Evaluation*

EMMANUEL SADIQ

In traditional Islam the doctrine of man has not properly been developed as in Christianity. It has been said that there is only one doctrine in Islam and that is the doctrine of God. This is very largely true. Everything in creation including man appears to be a foil to the all-embracing and all-dominating power of Allah. This emphasis on the unity, power and majesty of God is at once the strength and weakness of Islam. It is more strength than weakness, for it was devotion to faith in Allah that enabled Islam to achieve the conquest of many geographical areas of the world and assume the rôle of a civilizing force. Modern Muslim leaders of thought are again raising the standard of 'tauhid', not merely to arouse the Muslim world from forgetfulness of their glorious past, but also to give them the vision of an illustrious future and stir them to work for the conquest of the world at large for Islam. In order to see the doctrine of man in its right perspective it is necessary to keep in mind the Godwardness of Islam.

THE QURANIC TEACHING ABOUT MAN

Man was created of clay (23:12ff.). 'We created man of dried clay of black mud formed into shape' (15:26). It is pointed out that whereas the rest of creation came into being by a fiat of Allah, man was 'formed' from matter. 'Verily We created man from a product of wet earth, then placed him as a drop (of seed) in a safe lodging. Then fashioned We the drop into a clot, then fashioned We the clot a little lump; then fashioned We the little lump bones, and then clothed the bones with flesh, and then produced it as another creation—so blessed be Allah, the best of creatures' (23:12-14).

Here man's origin and his evolution from a lower stage to a higher is traced. The point emphasized is not so much the superiority of man over the rest of nature, but that man is the creature

*A paper read at the Indian Christian Theological Conference.

in whom wisdom and power of creation are best evidenced, and in whom after creation the sovereignty of Allah is exemplified as His *khalifa* (vicegerent). Of himself man has no intrinsic worth. He is what He is in virtue of what God wills him to be.

The Quran says about man: he is mortal (21:35); he has hardly any will of his own (81:29; 76:30); created good, but very low unless he believe and do good (95:4ff.). He is weak (4:32), inconstant (17:12; 89:15-17), capricious (41:49-51), covetous (17:102), proud of riches (96:6ff.), universally sinful (16:63), made from earth to return to earth (71:16ff.), will accuse himself on the last day (75:14), he is above all ungrateful. These verses, however, must be taken in the context of the opposition which the Prophet had met in his ministry.

Man's greatness lies in his being an 'abd' (slave) of God; apart from Him man is nothing. In the phrase '*khalifa*—vicegerent—of God', the emphasis is on the words 'of God' and not on *khalifa* as some later Muslim potentates tried to make out. In 15:29 it is said that God creates man and then breathes into him His spirit (cf. Genesis 2:7). Man's superiority is due not to him but to the spirit of God that is in him. It is said that from a 'despised fluid' man becomes God's vicegerent, not because of any superiority in him but because of the 'breath' of God in him. By virtue of his office as the *khalifa* of God man is even superior to the angels and not 'a little lower than the angels' as the Bible says. Angels are asked to prostrate themselves before Adam, and all of them do except *Iblis*, who argues that he was created from fire and so could not worship a creature of earth. *Iblis* was condemned because he failed to see that man's superiority over him was in fact due to the presence of God's spirit in Adam, so that worship of Adam was not the worship of a lower creature but of God Himself. Satan's excuse was really a subterfuge for his own self-centredness. It was a refusal to worship God alone and to obey Him implicitly. Man cannot subdue the world of nature and bring peace among men so long as he is not guided and strengthened by the spirit of God.

The principle just enunciated holds good for man in his relation to society. God has created all men of one spirit (*nafas*) (4:1). Commenting on this verse Muhammad Ali says, 'Thus these words declare the unity of the human race and equality of the male and female'. Man is above woman in matters of social relationship, but man and woman are essentially the same in virtue of the *nafas* of God cast into them. Solidarity of mankind is one of the basic beliefs of Islam. Division among men is due to their neglect of the unity of God. Absolute faith in the sole sovereignty of God over man both in his personal life and in society is the key to man's happiness.

In the Muslim tradition there is another concept dealing with the individual in the group, namely *Dar al-Islam*, the brotherhood of the faithful. This is not merely a theoretical concept; it is an intangible equality which gives every Muslim a feeling of sympathetic solidarity with every other Muslim and provides

him with a sense of security. He belongs, he believes, to a brotherhood which is above colour, class, nationality and state organizations. In fact a Muslim can feel at home in many lands scattered from the Atlantic coast of Africa to the very heart of the Pacific. All this creates or is able to create an *esprit de corps*, a unity of peoples, the importance of which cannot be over-estimated. (H. B. Smith: *Muslim Doctrine of Man* ; *Muslim World*, Vol. XIV, July-October, 1945).

It will be seen from this that man's social nature can find its highest felicity in a community organized for the service of the one God. In an attempt to bring out the essential structure of Muslim government Grunebaum states these points. 'The purpose of man is the service of God, "ibada". Complete "ibada" requires the existence of an organized community of believers. The existence of such a community requires government. The primary purpose of government is the rendering possible of "ibada".'

The ideal of society in Islam is the coming together of all mankind under the banner of Islam for the primary purpose of the worship and service of God. Man attains to his full stature in a Muslim society, because Muslim society is the only society in which 'tauhid' is fully apprehended and put into practice. There is no hatred of non-Muslims. On the contrary, it is maintained that social dealings are possible with those who worship the one God but are outside the pale of Islam. This is specially so with those called 'the people of the book', namely the Jews and Christians, who are monotheists. But there can be no fellowship with polytheists and idolators. The unity of mankind is based on the fact that they have been created from 'one soul' and can be maintained by the worship of and obedience to the will of Allah. All men are equal before God, but they lose the equality to the extent that they compromise the unity of God. Jews and Christians, though they are 'people of the book', cannot have the same right and privilege in a Muslim society as the believers do, for they do not accept the last and final revelation of God.

MODERN ISLAMIC VIEWS OF MAN IN SOCIETY

One of the most famous and influential personalities in Islamic modernism is Muhammad Iqbal. Though he claims to derive all his teaching from the Quran, it is an undeniable fact that he has been deeply influenced by modern Western evolutionary philosophers. He says that there are three things which are perfectly clear from the Quran: that man is the chosen of God (20:114); that with all his faults, man is meant to represent God on earth; and that man is the trustee of a free personality which he accepted to his peril (33:72). According to Iqbal, Islamic theologians, under the influence of non-Islamic forces, have developed a dualism regarding human nature. It was the sufis who maintained the unity of inner experience declared in the Quran, and Iqbal argues that the task lying before the Muslims is to discard

the unhealthy intrusion into Islam and to re-think the whole of its theology. He finds the clue to the right method of reaching the self in Bradley's approach to the problem of human personality. Rejecting the special theory of Bradley, he insists that 'The finite centre of experience, therefore, is real, even though its reality is too profound to be intellectualized'. The human ego is thus retained by Iqbal. His exposition is based greatly on ideas derived from Bergson and a number of other Western philosophers. Islam, according to Iqbal, does not recognize the distinction between the Sacred and the Secular, the material and the spiritual. He emphasizes the dynamic nature of the soul and its affinity with the Ultimate Soul. Though some of his words would sound heretical to the orthodox Muslim, he gets away from being censured on account of the fiery torrent of his poetry. 'We have strayed away from God', he says, 'and He is in quest of us.'

Iqbal maintains that man is a co-worker with God. He should therefore take the initiative. Desire in the sense of an ever-advancing surge towards the ideal is what gives reality to the human soul.

While emphasizing individuality, Iqbal is not oblivious of society. Society is the school in which individual persons are trained into perfection. 'For the individual to be bound to society is a blessing. It is in community that his worth is perfected.' The vision of the ideal society was one in which 'there would be no aggressive wars, no colour or race or class or national distinctions, no beggars or unemployed. It would be permeated by the spirit of brotherhood, social service and spiritual warmth' (Wilfred Smith's words).

Iqbal is no fatalist. For him 'tadqir' merely means inner potentiality created by God but which unfolds itself by the strivings of the individual. Muhammad is the perfect example of what the Quranic general principles mean in actual practice. There is no need in Islam for priests; by following the Prophet in all details of life the faithful are brought in touch with God. Iqbal, as may be noted, is trying by all arguments that come by, sociological, philosophical, mystical, and poetical, to instil into the minds of his co-religionists a sanguine hope about the future of Islam and inspire them to action. He is deeply loyal to Islam, especially to the Quran and the Prophet, and is proud of its history. But he cannot be regarded as a consistent thinker. Though all Muslims will enthusiastically accept his ideal for the future of Islam, it is not likely that they will endorse his delineation of the nature of man in terms of a philosophy of a particular time. Iqbal himself may not perhaps claim finality for his expositions. His purpose is a more immediate one. He is trying to make his contemporary Muslims feel that their religion and culture are not outdated, but rather they are much ahead of the time, an ideal towards which the whole creation is moving. Iqbal is giving to Islam what Christianity is giving to the world, namely the good news of God's nearness to man and of His concern for the restoration of mankind to a happy life in Him. As a good Muslim, Iqbal

rejects the Christian idea of man's sinfulness ; he is not conscious of the 'exceeding sinfulness of sin'. Adam's sin, he thinks, was a rise rather than a fall. Iqbal tries to raise humanity to divinity without redemption. He cannot do otherwise as a Muslim. Even with regard to the position of women in Islam, he is unable to say a word against tradition, and he keeps women behind the purdah.

Another leader in Islamic thought in modern times is Ziah Gokalp of Turkey. Like Iqbal, he also is a poet. While both men share in the ardent desire for the revival of Islam, Gokalp thinks that the salvation of man lies in the development of his social rather than of his individual personality. However, by society Gokalp means Turkish nationalism. But he insists that the traditional social framework of Islam is not suited to modern conditions.

Like Iqbal and other Muslim moderns, Gokalp is unwilling to give up the Quran. It contains, he declares, general principles which are eternal and unchangeable ; but in practical application, he admits, they should be adapted to changing conditions of society. The mediaeval system of law and jurisprudence, argues Gokalp, must give place to something that will help the nation to rise to full stature in the modern world. He teaches that in the early days of Islam the religious leaders did not take active part in the government but directed it from outside. The decline of the Muslim society began when religious leaders became the officers of the state and thus ceased to be a corrective and directive force in the life of the community.

Gokalp's ideal society is calculated to rouse nationalism among Muslims. But it is based on a narrow conception, and in the final analysis it may prove a hindrance rather than a help in the full development of human personality ; it is surprising that Iqbal and Gokalp allowed their free spirits to be cramped by it. The spiritual founder of Pakistan, Iqbal, as also Gokalp, seems to have ignored the universal ideal which he has seen, and thrown out to his co-religionists the path of nationalism.

Before passing on to make a Christian assessment of the Muslim idea of man in society, a few words may be said about mysticism in Islam. In many ways Islamic mysticism has attempted both to delve deeply into the inner recesses of human personality and to evolve an ethical discipline to reach the final goal of unity with God. The orthodox religion is too formal, external and mechanical to satisfy the longing of the human heart to draw close to the Object of its worship. The wisdom of the head fails to give any certain knowledge of God, but the wisdom of the heart offers it through the path of mysticism. A loving approach to God—its first step is the purification of the heart—which is to be effected by repentance and confession of sin. Then by a strict control of the body and mind, the soul of man is believed by degrees to change, as it were, from glory into glory, till in the end it attains to the ecstatic state, in which it can have a clear vision of the Beloved and is lost in love (*ishq-i-haquqi*). The final

stage, *fana fillah*, is one in which the mystic believes himself to have been annihilated in God. This stage is interpreted by some as one of complete absorption in God ; but Iqbal and others have a different view about it. Iqbal, for instance, maintains that ' it is not the drop slipping into the sea, but the realization of the reality and permanence of the human ego in a profounder personality '. The transformation of the soul is described by Jalalud Din Rumi, the famous Muslim mystic, in these words :

I died to the inorganic state and became a plant and then I died to the vegetable state and attained to the animal. I died from animality and became man : why, then, should I fear ? When have I become less by dying ? At the next stage I shall die to man, that I may soar and lift my head amongst the angels ; once more I shall be sacrificed and die to the angels ; I shall become that which enters not into the imagination.

Mysticism emphasizes love as the motive and final goal of the human soul. The sufi form of worship is not the reciting of set prayers but constant remembrance of God. Withdrawal from the world and a life of quiet meditation on God to the neglect of society are generally advocated by the sufis. But men like Rumi teach that love cannot be best expressed by withdrawal from the world. It is in God, the Perfect Personality, that man finds his destiny.

A CHRISTIAN ASSESSMENT OF THE ISLAMIC IDEA OF MAN IN SOCIETY

Islam's emphasis on the sovereignty of God over nature and man is in absolute agreement with the teaching of Christianity. But in actual practice Christianity, as it developed in the West, tends to keep religion in the background, not in the sense of neglecting it but rather of regarding it as a leaven quietly leavening the whole lump of human affairs. Generally speaking, Christians are seldom found praying in public or repeating the name of God constantly with their lips. A Muslim, on the contrary, does not hide his religion under a bushel. He may be accused of ostentation and superficiality, but the fact is that he is truly God-intoxicated. His emphasis on the absolute unity of God is psychologically good for the common man, for he is led to give his undivided loyalty and devotion to the one God. He avoids the danger of practical polytheism or tritheism to which Christians and others are often subject.

Christians and Muslims agree in regard to the *form* of ' one God and one humanity ' ; but they differ with reference to the *content*. The Christian conception of God is deeper and richer as it lies at the back of the divine revelation made in the person of Jesus Christ, the God-Man. The ideal of man in Christianity is Jesus Christ and of society the Church as founded by Him. The ideal of man in Islam is Muhammad, the perfect man, and of society his *umma*, community.

Whereas Islam emphasizes the sovereignty and absolute 'otherness' of God, Christianity teaches His nearness. Though Islamic sufism stresses God's nearness, the traditional and dominant view is that God is to be feared ; submission to Him and complete resignation to His will are the orthodox Islamic teaching. Islamic moderns like Iqbal have tried to correct this 'defect'. In Christianity the affirmation of the doctrine of the Incarnation makes a great difference in man's understanding of God's nature and of the attitude which he should adopt in relation both to God and to his fellow men.

Both Christianity and Islam believe in the brotherhood of man and the solidarity of the human race ; but in practice Islam has given a better expression to it than Christianity, not in the form of an elaborate code of conduct or by establishing a religious state but in actual practical relationship with one another. Since there is no priesthood in Islam, there appears in it no class distinction, except among the sufis whose 'leaders' become virtual mediators between God and man. In Christianity it is recognized that full fellowship is possible only among those who are 'in Christ', yet every man is a brother for whom Christ died. Furthermore, in ordinary day-to-day relationships in this world Christianity teaches no distinction is to be drawn between a Christian and a non-Christian ; all men are to be treated equally. In Islam, on the other hand, complete equality and religious liberty is not possible for non-Muslims. Courtesy and kindness, however, are shown to all, and that is a great quality of Muslim people.

Such incongruities in modern life as polygamy, divorce and purdah are gradually disappearing from Islam. The rigidity of the Muslim law is also being modified in our times on the recognition that it was not meant to be or can be valid for all times and that in the interests of the basic principles of Islam the laws have to be changed to meet new conditions. In the words of N. B. Smith :

Islam recognized the intrinsic worth of the individuals as owing their existence to God and responsible to Him for their actions. This means that no individual can be completely subsumed in a totalitarian structure such as that of Communism . . . neither can Islam ever make peace with the economic determinism or materialistic interpretation of history which is fundamental to Marxism. Man is not controlled by matter or by economic forces since he is essentially a spiritual being with affinities to God and thus a moral being, free in his spirit. God and not matter is in control of historic movements.

State and religion are identical in Islam. This has proved to be a great burden to modern Muslim society. In some places, as in Turkey, the state and religion have virtually been separated and the idea of universal brotherhood has suffered diminution in consequence of the rise of independent national units in the world of Islam.

In Christianity man is a child of God, made in his image. He has been given in Jesus Christ a promise of full redemption from sin, and has also been grafted into His Body, the Church, which is the fellowship of the redeemed, in order that he may grow 'unto the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full-grown man unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ'. This emphasis with reference to man in society cannot be found in Islam: it is still unreached by those who are called Christians. The idea that man can rise from being essentially an 'abid' slave of God to be a 'co-worker' with Him by a dynamic effort of his own, as suggested by Iqbal, is something which, from the point of view of the Christian understanding of man, is impossible of actuality. Islam has much to learn in theory from Christianity, and Christianity has much to learn in practice from Islam.

Man's Nature and Destiny: A Christian Theological Approach¹

J. KUMARESAN

It is important to estimate at the start itself the place given to an understanding of man in the total setting of the Christian message. A true and full estimation of man is possible only through a right understanding of the gospel.

The Biblical message centres around the story of the relation between God and man, and this is vividly painted as a very living, active and concrete relation. There is a striking realism in relating God to man because it describes the very nature of God in that relation. We are not to speculate over God the transcendent, who is far-removed from the world in which we live, but we are to count with God as one who is active in creating the world and shaping its destiny. That is the very meaning of Revelation. While we talk of a certain realism in the understanding of God there is an equal sense of realism with which we describe man. He is the other pole related to God in terms of an active, living and concrete relation.

I. MAN'S NATURE AND DESTINY AS IT WAS MEANT TO BE

The creation story in Genesis has an intrinsic value in as much as it points to the original place and purpose for man's creation according to God's own plan and purpose. It was the original purpose of God that while He is active in creation He would so create and shape and guide man that this relationship between the creator and the created world might testify to the harmony and unity of purpose characteristic of this relationship. God has a definite purpose for His creation. It was from His side a clear indication that to be God is to be a creative and active God. Apart from what He does in His creative activity we cannot recognize Him adequately and in a realistic way. The very description necessary for an understanding of God starts with the

¹ A paper read at the Indian Christian Theological Conference held in Madras.

words: In the beginning God created. The key words in Genesis, Chapter 1, are GOD SAID. Without this assurance of God's activity, we shall only be vainly and vaguely speculating about God. In Christian theology every attempt towards the understanding of God starts from a consideration of what He does. On the other hand, from man's point of view, the creation story reveals the essential way in which man is related to God. He is a creature and he is to be related to God as a creature. This creator-creature relationship reveals God as God and man as man.

From this central point we can usefully examine at this stage the implications in the idea of man created in the image of God (Gen. 1:26).

(1) The image of God in man stands for a tie of togetherness. When we view the Biblical story in its entirety the idea of the covenant relationship seems to be so central. The story of revelation is a spectacular unfolding of the meaning of this revelation in terms of a covenant which God established with man. In that covenant relationship the basic factor is the tie of togetherness. The image of God in man serves to affirm the unbroken nature of the relation that binds God and man together. The concept of *fellowship* is the basis on which we can usefully interpret the idea of the image of God.

(2) The image of God implies that man is not and does not become at any stage God. It is important to emphasize that in the idea of the image is implied a clear description of the nature of God and the nature of man. God is God and man is man. In no other way can either be described. In the relationship with man God does not become less divine because of His association with the finite world, and neither does man become more and more divine because of his relationship to God. God in all that He does remains as the Creator and man in all that he is and does in his relation to God remains as a *creature*. The two cannot exchange places with each other as far as their nature is concerned.

(3) The image of God implies man's importance and worth. Man alone is created in the image of God. This serves immediately as a means of separating man from the rest of the created world and ascribes to him a place of pre-eminence in the created world. It is clearly indicated that there is a wide difference between the value of things created and the creation of man. It is a part of the divine economy that man's place in the created world is for a specific task and function. He is to serve as the custodian or overseer of the created world. He is an agent of God.

II. MAN'S NATURE AND DESTINY AS IT ACTUALLY IS

As the Bible continues the story of God's relation to man or God's revelation to man, the dark chapter is written which registers man's fall as a tragic factor affecting this relation. What is of primary significance is to find out the implications of the Fall for understanding the nature and destiny of man from the point of view of his present state.

(a) *The universality of sin.*—Human nature viewed in terms of its present condition is perverted and corrupt and exposed to a rule inimical to God. The story of sin as one man's disobedience has become representative and typical as every other man's story. That is the ground for Paul saying: 'For there is no distinction; since all have sinned, and fall short of the glory of God' (Rom. 3:23). In the same Epistle Paul has the significant contrast between the first Adam and the second Adam (5:14-18). The story of the Fall is significant more as a pointer to the universality of sin rather than as a solution to the problem of the origin of sin. Christianity is concerned not with the 'how' of sin but with the 'that', i.e. the fact of sin.

(b) *Sin as separation.*—The sting caused by this nature of man in the present condition of his life is in that it separates man from God. Man created for a life of fellowship stands now in a relation broken by sin. As a matter of fact it is wrong to say that man's relation to God is broken. Man is at no point of time unrelated to God. The very fact that he is a creature of God relates him inevitably to the Creator. But now he stands in a false relation to God. In this relation he is met by the wrath of God. Wrath is God's reaction to a relation where man makes himself a stranger or foreigner to God. Yea, the Bible goes further and points out that this relation is in fact a rebellion against God. Man as separated from God aligns himself on the opposite camp and stands in opposition to Him. That is the very nature of sin and the basis for the guilt in human life (Ps. 51:4). Christian theology takes serious note of this factor of personal opposition in sin, and only against this background can the message of man's reconciliation with God have any meaningful relevance.

(c) *Sin as death.*—While the Christian view of man in his fallen nature is thus determined by the slavery under sin, the consequences of sin are portrayed in equally dark colours. The wages of sin is death. The destruction involved in death points to the meaning of separation from God. If sin holds man under its clutches, then the source of life is naturally lost and thus death itself becomes the very opposite of life.

THE RESTORATION

The Christian estimate of man does not stop with the description of man as a sinner. There is another chapter to that story and this chapter makes a further estimate of man in the light of the Incarnation and Atonement of Christ. The description of the natural man as a sinner is valid only up to a certain point. That decisive point Christian theology discovers in its understanding of the person and work of Christ. Man's nature in the here and now is further determined by the centrality of the Cross and Resurrection. In the light of this, man is also described as justified. Man as justified must be again related to the purpose of God for man. The meaning of the relation between God and man in terms

of an unbroken tie is kept alive throughout the redemptive story. God on His side is faithful to His promise that He shall be God and man shall be under His rule. Even in the context of man's estrangement on account of sin, God is faithful to His part in the covenant relationship. Promise of restoration and fulfilment go together. The Cross and Resurrection must be seen as God's decisive moments in His redeeming work. Man as sinner becomes the very object of God's saving love. The estimate in the light of the Cross and Resurrection has important implications.

(1) Christ's saving work is for all. He died for all humanity. All come under the justifying estimate made possible by Christ's death and Resurrection.

(2) Man is a new creature, shaped according to the purpose and destiny of God. His true humanity is hereby restored. The reality of this new humanity is variously described—man is in the new age, he is a new man, he is re-born, he is renewed, he is a new Adam, etc.

(3) Man is both sinner and justified at the same time. The redeeming work of Christ does not mean that man ceases to be a sinner. He continues to be a sinner, but justified by faith. The conflict in life continues. In other words, life in Christ means for the believer an initial victory and the meaning of this initial victory is evidenced as he continues in the struggle to experience the transforming power in a life of faith.

III. MAN'S NATURE AND DESTINY AS IT SHALL BE

The Christian view of man is not confined to this world alone, but man is to be viewed *sub specie aeternitatis*. Man has a double citizenship—in this world of time and space and in the world to come.

Life viewed in the light of eternity therefore brings new light on the meaning of man's nature in terms of the future life.

(i) Life in the hereafter is viewed in terms of perfection. What is grasped partially will be understood in their fullness. What is seen dimly will be made clear then. What is determined by constant conflict and struggle will be perfected without these conditions. Perfection here is more than just moral and spiritual perfection. It is synonymous with glory and the deepest meaning of fellowship with God.

(ii) Human death is a gateway to heaven. The meaning of death itself is changed in the light of eternity. Death is swallowed up in victory. Death is no more destruction, but the starting-point for the life of resurrection. What is sown in corruptibility will be reaped in incorruptibility.

(iii) Judgment in the Christian sense does not start in the future life. Judgment is a crisis created by the very fact of God's confrontation with man. Every meeting-point between God and the natural man is a point of judgment. In the first place it reaffirms in a concrete way that there is universal judgment on sin.

Secondly, for the believers the day of judgment is a day of blessing. Thirdly, it is Christ who has revealed the heart of God as love, who will be in the centre of the judgment.

CONCLUSION

Man's nature and destiny are through and through determined by the fact that God is related to man in terms of an active lordship and His dealings with him are such that he is not left to his own destiny, but guided towards the destiny set by the Creator. Apart from this theo-centric approach our understanding and estimation of man would be either superficial or untrue. But interpreted in the light of God's redeeming work, man's place in the world and his relation to God is one of privilege, opportunity and responsibility. Therefore man as God's creation is to surrender his life as His instrument for carrying out His redemptive purpose in the world. Man as recipient of God's gracious and justifying lordship is to serve as an effective witness to His saving power.

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The need for an Ecumenical Review on Liturgy

The spread of the Liturgical Movement which has aroused a growing interest in liturgical studies all over the world, and in all parts of Christendom, together with the close connection of the Liturgical Movement and the Ecumenical Movement, has now led to the idea of publishing an Ecumenical Review on Liturgy.

Already before the Third World Conference on Faith and Order, at Lund (1952), members of the then 'Ways of Worship Commission' had decided to start an international periodical which might co-ordinate and stimulate the work being done in the field of liturgical research and renewal. Lund underlined the intrinsic value of the Liturgy, and the study of it, for the reunion of the Church, and since then Worship has become one of the essential topics in Ecumenical discussion in addition to Faith and Order.

The realization of the project

At Conferences like the one organized by representatives of the Liturgical Movement in the various Churches and held at Swanwick in the beginning of this year (1961) it once more became clear that in the future Ecumenical co-operation in the field of liturgical research and renewal will become increasingly important. The Ecumenical Movement can no longer avoid the study of Worship in its widest sense, nor can Worship properly be studied without Ecumenical co-operation. This is not only felt in the so-called 'liturgically-minded' branches of the Church, but also in those branches which did not formerly lay any emphasis on liturgical life. It is therefore the first purpose of this new Quarterly to establish a means by which the people in all the Churches who are dealing with liturgical research and renewal can meet one another and exchange ideas.

Its unique character

Its character will therefore be different from most theological magazines. It will not only be a reservoir of contributions (which may or may not be read) but it will be and, we hope, will more and more become, the organ of a working group whose members will be invited to comment on each other's papers. Every reader will thus be a potential collaborator. Various subjects will be dealt with until we have arrived at a common opinion. Often this may last a long time, but we will not leave any topics until we have

reached some common conclusions about them. In this way we hope to contribute something to an Ecumenical Theology of Liturgy and thus help to prepare the way for a Theology of the One Church.

Bibliography on index cards

We intend to keep our readers informed about all possible developments in the fields of liturgical research and liturgical life. Apart from the usual Book Reviews, we hope to publish a Bibliography on index cards, classifying the titles according to certain rubrics, beginning with the books and articles of the past year and giving a brief summary of each of them. Later we hope to complete this by also indexing the main literature of the past (i.e. books and articles) which have dealt with Liturgy, Church Music and Church Architecture.

Book supplements

As in many countries it often seems to be difficult to get liturgical literature printed at a reasonable price, we also hope to assist authors by printing and distributing their work at a lower price and over a wider area. Our readers will be the first to profit by this.

Scope and contents

Apart from the general articles, notes and comments, we propose to choose a main theme which will last some years. For the first three years this will be CHRISTIAN INITIATION.

Under the heading LITURGICAL EVENTS information on the new developments in the field of liturgical practice will be provided: the results of the Liturgical Movement in the various Churches, new rites and service books, Study Conferences, recent works of Art, Church Music and Church Architecture.

And last, but not least, some common Projects will be suggested, which could be dealt with by the study groups in the various churches—e.g. the composing of a lectionary—in order to avoid the churches working separately on topics of common interest, the common results of which might anticipate something of the future life of the United Church.

In order to reach as many as possible we shall give English summaries of articles published originally in French or German. If it proves to be better to publish all the contributions in English with a summary in French and German, we are also prepared to do this.

In the hope that many Christian scholars, pastors and laymen will assist us in this work, we launch this Quarterly in Faith, in the Name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

Book Reviews

The Riddle of Roman Catholicism: by Jaroslav Pelikan. Hodder and Stoughton. Pp. 255. Price 16s.

This book meets a real need and does so admirably. It is a simply written, scholarly account of Roman Catholicism as it has developed and as it is today. It answers questions like these: What happens within the Roman Catholic Church in its worship and its life? What is the Roman Catholic attitude to the State? What is the relationship between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism within the one catholic Church? What is the possibility of reunion?

Although Jaroslav Pelikan, a Protestant, writes critically of Roman Catholicism, he is always sympathetic. All the way through, even when he is dealing with Roman Catholicism's most obvious weaknesses, he never ceases to be aware that he is writing from within the Church about the Church. If he considers the present division to be necessary, he is also very much aware of the tragedy of it. Divided we yet belong together to the one Lord. His aim is to contribute to the healing of the division—a healing that may lie far ahead, but which must surely come.

In the first part of the book Dr. Pelikan traces the history of Roman Catholicism from its beginning in early catholicity, through the Reformation, to the present day. He speaks of catholicity as identity plus universality. By identity he means that which differentiates the Church from the world, its particularity, its loyalty to the Gospel; by universality that which draws the Church to be concerned about the world, to 'embrace', as he says, 'nothing less than all mankind in its vision and its appeal'. Using this formula he examines the ways in which Roman Catholicism maintains these aspects or deviates from them.

Roman Catholicism falls short of catholicity in both aspects: in identity through its denial of the crucial doctrine of justification by faith alone and through a continuous rejection of the Protestant and evangelical side of its own tradition; in universality by having no claim even to represent the Western tradition in Christendom. Rome has no peculiar right to the word catholic. It has indeed never been catholic in the true sense. Eastern Orthodoxy reminds us of that. Nor has it any claim to the word *vis-à-vis* Protestantism. The Reformation is properly understood as a protest in the name of catholicity. Roman

Catholicism by repudiating the Reformers was in fact rejecting the thing it claims as its own.

Roman Catholicism and Protestantism can only be understood in relation to one another. It is because of the Reformation that Roman Catholicism is what it is. It was the Reformation, at least in part, that made necessary the tragic decision of the Council of Trent to reject the doctrine of faith alone. So, too, Protestantism. Protestantism is what it is because of the division that occurred at that time. Neither can be truly catholic without the other. On both sides there is loss, and in both aspects: identity and universality.

Dr. Pelikan in the next section of his book describes with useful detail the Roman Catholic Church today. He deals with Roman Catholic teaching about the Church; with Roman Catholicism's relation to the State; with the Sacraments; with Mariology; with Thomism; and with liturgy and culture.

In his description the contradictions of Roman Catholicism become apparent, for example these: on the one side Roman Catholicism's reverence for Scripture, and on the other its reliance on tradition and ultimately on the Pope; on the one side its great diversity and unity enveloping so many peoples in one family, and on the other its ghetto-like separation from the changing world of today. At the heart of Roman Catholicism there is a contradiction between what it is and its true catholic genius. At every level there is conflict (as also in Protestantism) between the two aspects of catholicity—identity and universality.

There is no dubiety about the necessity for the continuing separation between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. Protestantism has to say 'No' to Papal infallibility; to say 'No' to a system in which a central doctrine of Scripture is denied; to say 'No' to the stultifying dominance of Thomism. It has to reject the doctrine of the assumption of Mary. It has to stand firm against much of what is said and believed about the Mass. It has to say 'No' to many things, and all in the name of catholicity. Yet the tragedy of the separation remains. In Roman Catholicism, concealed though it may be, there is a substantiality which we need, which belongs to the catholic Church, and therefore as much to Protestantism as to Rome. There are elements of truth in Roman Catholicism which Protestantism neglects. We think, for instance, of the visible unity and order of a world-wide communion, or of the remarkable obedience and discipline of the orders and the work done by them in education and in missions of mercy. Even in places where Protestantism rightly discerns the greatest error, there is truth. If, for example, Roman Catholic Sacramentalism often degenerates into superstition and magic, may it not also preserve a sense of mystery to which Protestantism does scant justice? There may be truth even in Roman Mariology. Some words of Dr. Pelikan are worth quoting, both in this last connection and because they show so well the irenic spirit in which he writes. He says:

‘When the New Testament urges that Christians consider the cloud of witnesses who surround them as they run the race of faith, it certainly includes the first witness of the life and work of Jesus Christ—his mother. Not a semi-divine being, but as an outstanding member of the communion of saints, she is blessed among women. When Protestants begin to say this out loud in their teaching and worship, and not merely to whisper it in their hearts, as most of them indeed do, then they will be better prepared to speak a word of fraternal warning to their Roman Catholic brethren.’

The introduction of a doctrine like that of the assumption of Mary makes it more difficult for Protestantism to listen to Rome. It is indeed all too easy to fall back on traditional Protestant polemics. For Protestantism, however, to argue from a position based on past and arid controversy would today be particularly damaging. There are signs that in several particulars Roman Catholicism is not the unchanging and incorrigible institution as has so often, and with reason, been supposed. There are indications of movement toward a more evangelical side of the tradition and therefore to a deeper and wider catholicity. Dr. Pelikan points in his description to some of these changes. There is, for instance, the vernacular translation of the Bible and the hierarchy’s encouragement of the laity to use it. In colleges and schools there has been a development of Biblical teaching, and in parishes the establishment of groups for Bible study and discussion. Then there is the liturgical movement with its attack upon sentimental and superstitious rites connected with the Mass, and its attempt to reinstate communion to its proper place. The Church’s encouragement of the arts, visual and literary, is another pointer to change. And, lastly, there is the flexibility in the Church’s attitude to the State as seen in the U.S.A. and the freedom of the individual member to serve the State without ecclesiastical direction.

In the final section Jaroslav Pelikan deals with the question of reunion. After examining the nature of the unity we already have in Christ, and having taken account of the radical disagreements in our interpretations of this unity, he goes on to discuss the possibility of deepening and widening our agreement. In an especially useful chapter he speaks from his experience of conversation with Roman Catholics. Experience, he says, shows how unfruitful at this stage formal discussion is. Both sides line up on conventional positions and nothing new emerges. On the other hand, informal meetings are helpful, particularly when discussion is based on some significant text or book. Here participants move away from official positions and new thought is made possible.

Such informal discussions reveal a remarkable change of direction in thinking on both sides. In Bible study Roman Catholics are much more open to the methods and results of Biblical criticism, and less inclined than formerly to force the

Biblical revelation into scholastic categories. In Protestantism there is a new interest in tradition. The recognition that the community of the Church has influenced the shaping of the Scriptural documents has thrown new light upon tradition, and has resulted in Protestant study (also Roman Catholic study) of its nature. A new perspective has come about, too, as a result of the work of patristic scholars both Protestant and Roman, and by a new appraisal by both sides of the writings of the Reformers.

Serious obstacles to reunion, however, remain. Because of realizing that reunion may take a very long time, some, out of concern for the unity of the Church, have become Roman Catholics. Dr. Pelikan in a chapter entitled *THE WAY OF CONVERSION* rejects this solution. His view is that conversion defeats the purpose of unity. Roman Catholicism needs Protestantism for its own return to a proper catholicity and unity. To step from Protestantism at this juncture is to give up the Protestant witness which is essential.

There is no other way to reunion except the slow and painful one of recognizing together our unity in weakness and in listening to one another. Protestantism to be concerned with union must learn to speak the truth to Roman Catholicism firmly and, if necessarily, sharply, yet always in love. Protestantism must also learn to listen to Roman Catholicism and be ready to re-shape its thinking. It is only in this way that there can be reinstated in Protestantism and in Roman Catholicism the catholicity which is the true genius of both.

We would expect in a short book like this, covering comprehensively a subject so complex and controversial, that there would be many things with which we would disagree, either on points of interpretation or emphasis, if not of fact. What points there are, however, are small, and do not appreciably affect the argument. The general impression that is left is how amazingly good and balanced this book is.

D. H. S. LYON

Studies in Christian Doctrine: by H. Maurice Relton. Published by Macmillan & Co., 1960. Pp. xi + 270. Price 21s. net.

The appearance of a new book by the veteran Professor H. M. Relton, of London University, is an event to be welcomed both by those who have already been stimulated, challenged and instructed by his earlier works and by those who may for the first time now read the lucid expositions of this distinguished theologian. His first major work, *A Study in Christology* (1917), revealed a primary interest in the theology of the Incarnation which has marked his whole career. In this latest book he has set himself to 'gather up the fragments that remain' and the result reveals a continuance of that dominant interest.

The book is a collection of essays and studies on themes which are indicated in the six chapter headings: 1. The

Christian Conception of God ; 2. Patripassianism ; 3. Nestorianism ; 4. The Person of Christ and Recent Discussion ; 5. A Study in Sacramentalism ; 6. The Dynamic Sacramentalism of St. Gregory of Nyssa.

Apparently most, if not all, that is presented has already been printed earlier, but we are not always given the date and place of previous publication, and there is a certain puzzlement about the arrangement here and there. For example, the study of Nestorianism starts off with an essay on 'Nestorius the Nestorian' (1912), designed to counter Bethune-Baker's thesis that Nestorius himself did not share heretical views. It continues in the reprint of a review of Sellers' *Two Ancient Christologies*, of 1940, and ends with an exposition of 'The Catholic Christology: God Incarnate', which may or may not have been part of that review. Such a method of joining different studies can be confusing. Nevertheless, the author's opinion that what he has written will be found still relevant and helpful to students may well be upheld by most readers. Further, the wealth of quotation from and exposition of other writers will be found most illuminating.

Much of the first essay on 'The Christian Conception of God' will be found most useful in our grasp and presentation of the distinctiveness of the Christian faith. Dr. Relton deals helpfully with problems of God's love and His omnipotence :

There are some things God cannot do without ceasing to be God as the Christian conceives Him in relation to the world and human life . . . He cannot force a created human will to obey His behests, short of annihilation (p. 6).

The fact that the distinctively Christian view is rooted not in speculation but in the revelation of God in Christ is made very clear. The paradox and wonder is then brought out in words like these :

He is the changeless One who nevertheless forgives the penitent soul ; He is the abiding One who whilst inhabiting eternity is found in time seeking the lost (p. 26).

The truth applies especially to the trinitarian character of the Faith, which is contrasted with the self-centredness of unitarianism, and of which the author writes thus :

We have always to remember that the Christian doctrine of the Trinity is essentially in origin the product of the distinctive Christian experience of God in Christ Jesus (p. 48).

Distinctive of the book is the exposition and defence of orthodox Christology in the studies found in chapters 2, 3 and 4. Dr. Relton is firmly convinced that the long-drawn-out Christological controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries, far from being mere arguments about words, were of quite vital significance for the grasp of the real meaning of what the Gospel proclaims. His plea would be that anyone who wishes to expound the meaning of the Incarnation of Christ in this generation must

first strive to grasp what was at stake in these controversies, and what was established in the ecumenical creeds and confessions. In particular, he sets in sharp contrast any interpretation of the Person of Christ which is in essence adoptionist, which sees Him as one raised from humanity to pioneer a new relation with God, and the orthodox Faith which is that in Him we meet God Incarnate, the claim that 'God led a personal life on this earth of ours'. Further, he succeeds in giving significant content to the conception of 'enhypostasia' with which Leontius of Byzantium sought to solve the riddle of the relation of the two Natures of Christ. The answer insists that, apart from the Incarnation of the Son of God, there was no independently existing human 'Jesus of Nazareth', and that therefore the only human Ego of the Incarnate Lord is the Ego of the divine Son.

As regards the course of the argument, there are two questions which one would like to pose. The first concerns the emphasis laid by the writer on the Virgin Birth as basic for our Faith in the Incarnation. We find this in a passage like the following:

The question of the Virgin Birth is not a side-issue; it is a vital factor in the whole problem.

Why?

Because if you think of His Birth as the normal product of two human parents, you have the existence in the physical world of a man, distinct and distinguishable from God, having an existence in his own right in relationship to God. Then no matter how intimate that relationship may have been . . . it falls short of the real truth, viz. that ultimately the central constituent of His Person was Divine—He was God Himself Incarnate (p. 134).

Three comments are called for: (a) Belief in the Virgin Birth did not save men like Arius and Socinus from failure to recognize in Jesus God Incarnate, and rejection of the Virgin Birth has not prevented a theologian like Emil Brunner from setting forth in the most radical terms the stupendous truth of the Incarnation of the Son of God. (b) The dogmatic assertion of what would have been impossible for God in a birth by ordinary means overlooks the awesome fact that every birth is a wonder, and that it is given to the Psalmist to see behind the physical facts of even his own birth the overruling hand of God (Ps. 139). (c) Most important of all, it is disturbing to note this emphasis on a basis of faith in the Incarnation to which both in the Acts and in the Epistles there is no explicit reference at all, to the comparative neglect of the mighty facts of the Resurrection which, throughout the apostolic preaching, stands unquestioned as the starting-point of their testimony. Here is the weakness of a 'Theology of the Incarnation' which does not clearly set out from the facts of the Passion and the Resurrection of our Lord which hold the centre of the picture in the whole New Testament. We recall that Bishop Azariah is reported to have answered a questioner

that, if he had but one opportunity to preach the Gospel in an Indian village, his theme would be the Resurrection. That our Lord was born of a Virgin is part of the Faith. Yet, perhaps especially in a land like India with its stories of wonderful births of the gods, to build our Gospel not on the clear and unanimous testimony of the New Testament concerning Him who died and rose again, but on this mysterious truth to which only in two places the New Testament refers, is to risk serious failure and misunderstanding.

The other question concerns the extent to which, in stressing our Lord's divinity, the writer runs into the danger of obscuring the humanity. We note statements like the following:

The human at its maximum is but the likeness of the truly human which is in God alone. This means ultimately that the humanity of Jesus Christ was not the humanity we know in ourselves. It was God's humanity, which differs from ours to the extent to which the Creator differs from the creature (p. 144).

Clearly Relton is seeking to express the vital, scriptural truth that it is in Christ that we see 'the proper Man', man as he is meant to be, the true divine Image to which we are to be conformed. But when he contrasts 'our humanity' with 'God's humanity' by reference to the metaphysical gulf between Creator and creature, instead of by pointing to the moral gulf of sin, he introduces an idea of the Incarnation which is less than what Scripture shows us. He was made in all points like to His brethren, the flesh which he took was our common human flesh. He had to 'learn obedience by the things which he suffered'. To present us with an abstract human nature instead of this is to risk a charge of that Docetism which has dogged the Church from its earliest days, and to present us with an *Avatar*, God disguised as a man, in place of the radical message that 'He was made man' without which there is no Gospel. Here we meet the danger of the dogmatism with which Relton forbids us to start with the 'Jesus of History', which overlooks the fact that what the New Testament offers us is indeed the Jesus of History seen through the eyes of those who knew Him risen.

A closing reference is called for to the chapter entitled 'A Study in Sacramentalism' particularly since it contains an argument in favour of a method of Church Union involving a 'mutual commissioning' of ministers such as was rejected by the Church of South India, and is not to be confused with what is now proposed in North India. Relton presents his idea on the basis of a clear-cut 'either-or' distinction between two contrasting conceptions of the ministry, which he identifies with an omnibus 'Free Church' type and an episcopally ordained Anglican. This simplification underlies much of the Anglican approach, especially since Lambeth, 1920. It is based, however, on a reading of the doctrine of the ministry held in other churches which is lamentably superficial, ignoring as it does the fact that multitudes in

non-episcopal churches could never accept that narrow, exclusive interpretation of a 'prophetic' ministry which is foisted upon them. More seriously it ignores the fact that our own experience of what God has given to certain ministers through a rite with which we are familiar does not authorize us to question whether He may not have given the same gift equally effectively to others through other means. The North India Plan of Union proposes that all ministers without discrimination shall be presented before God that He may grant to each His grace according to His wisdom and love. This, however, is not at all the approach which is here suggested and which is based on a naïvely simple distinction between what is found in one tradition and another.

One cannot help feeling that on this subject Dr. Relton is sadly conditioned by the parochial outlook which obscures the understanding of some Western theologians. This comes to light in a section which concerns controversy with the Roman Church, where he says:

The issue at stake is English liberty still (p. 221).

It appears again in a letter to *The Times*, here reprinted, in which he argues for a development of the Anglican Communion as a kind of parallel to the British Commonwealth of Nations, as if this could meet the world's needs. It is hardly surprising that with such assumptions he should append to that letter a statement the evidence for which escapes the present reviewer:

So the debate continues to drag its slow length along, but the case for Episcopacy, Ancient and Modern, remains unshaken.

W. S.

Christian Participation in Nation-Building: edited by P. D. Devanandan and M. M. Thomas. Published by the National Christian Council of India and the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society. Price Rs.7.

The publication summarizes the findings of over two dozen corporate studies of various aspects of the contemporary Indian situation, which were prepared under the auspices of the C.I.S.R.S. in 1954-59. It covers politics, economic development—industrial and agricultural—and social and cultural life, first analysing each situation and then suggesting what the Christians concerned might do about it, on the assumption that it is inescapably incumbent on us all to involve ourselves in the life of the country to redeem it as servants of the Lord. Before this could be done intelligently, however, some accurate information about what is actually going on was needed—hence the corporate surveys. The result is a stimulating guide for all Christians, and, indeed, for all those concerned with the problems of contemporary India; such attempts to understand their root causes are surely the essential preliminaries to any solution.

The Editors perceive the immense relevance of Christian insights to the country's development, in spite of the existing weaknesses, numerical and otherwise, of the Christian community. There is, for instance, the Christian insistence on the integrity of the individual personality ; a sense of realism, based on a true understanding of the nature of man and God, as an antidote to both Utopianism and cynicism about the political and economic future ; the positive, creative attitude to material things, particularly industrialization—as potential instruments of God's purpose, however, and not just as ends in themselves. But before the Christian community can fulfil these responsibilities, much more education, in the widest sense of the word, is required.

The Editors also consider the old dilemmas of the Christian Church in this country ; to carry out the Lord's will, the Church must not lose its identity, yet it must not just become yet another body of strident communalists. The word 'community' in this country has unfortunate connotations ; Christians, however, are capable of rehabilitating it. Christians must participate with others in realizing, and redeeming, the nation's aims—as Christians, and not as subscribers to some artificial man-made religious and cultural synthesis laboriously constructed in the hope of promoting national unity. Mutual tolerance in this (and every other) nation is a condition of its survival, but it cannot be built on a glossing-over of real fundamental differences ; rather on a genuine respect for other peoples' personality and convictions. 'I don't agree with a word you say, but I'll defend to the death your right to say it' is the attitude commended in the book.

It is a composite work, but on the whole the Editors have done an excellent job in welding the materials into a unity, while the writing is comparatively free from the ungainly jargon that bedevils so many contemporary efforts. As a guide for Christians in the India of the present and immediate future it is admirable, being full of wise remarks on all the main issues with which we are confronted. One hopes that its basic assumptions and creative outlook will become widely diffused and generally accepted.

Serampore College

M. A. LAIRD

A Living Sacrifice : A Study of Reparation : by E. L. Kendall.
S.C.M. Press. 21s.

Studies of the Atonement are often one-sided, falling as they do into the category either of an objective or of a subjective type of theory. It is a rewarding experience to read a book in which the wholeness of Christ's work is continually kept in view. This book seeks to achieve this by understanding that work under the concept of Reparation. This concept brings together the truths in both the Godward and the manward interpretations of the Atonement and shows them to be in harmony. For Reparation is on the one hand a 'theological concept, for it is grounded in the Biblical doctrines of the Love of God, the Redemption wrought

by Christ, and the Church, the Body of Christ. Reparation is, moreover, an experience, or rather an activity, of the Christian life . . . for 'the Church is the sphere of Salvation wrought by Christ, and in so far as we are caught up into his redemptive activity by virtue of our union with him, Reparation may be said to include all the activities of the Christian life'.

After a chapter in which the significance of the word 'reparation' is examined on etymological grounds, the author deals with the 'Biblical Basis of Reparation'. He avoids the unsatisfactory notion of 'appeasement of divine wrath', which is sometimes read into the word, by developing the three essentials of the concept which are summarized in the quotation already given. A chapter on 'Reparation as a Work of Love' illustrates how the saints have sought to respond to God's love by eagerly offering love to Christ to make amends for the hate and suffering that he has endured at the hands of men. 'The mainspring and foundation of the work of Reparation is love; its goal and its end is no less than the slaking of the divine thirst for the salvation of souls.'

In 'Reparation as Restoration' the author makes use of Irenaeus' doctrine of 'Recapitulation', but shows that this may include not only the restoration of human nature in One Man at a point of history but that continual restoration in every believer through the 'reproduction of the Christian life in the living members of His Body'.

Successive chapters on 'Reparation as Suffering' and 'Reparation as Sacrifice' show that through the concept of Reparation the significance of suffering is seen in its creativity, and that the reparative power that the Old Testament sacrifices sought but failed to bestow is found in the Christian's union with Christ.

Reparation as an activity of the Christian life is further worked out in relation to Worship, to Prayer, to Personal Sanctification and in Practical Christian Living: the latter including not only the so-called 'religious life, but also Christian living in the pressures of the secular world. Moving instances are given by way of illustration of the reparative quality of such Christian living, by which Jesus is known in 'the miracle of vicarious sacrifice' offered by the 'children of Reparation'.

In a book of such deep insights, abounding in many passages that cry out to be quoted, it is ungrateful to criticize. Yet one feels that the spiritual quality of the book is inadequately supported on account of the weakness of its reasoning. It is, of course, true that spiritual truths are spiritually discerned, and do not depend on rational justification: but in so far as theological statements are expressed in rational form, their exposition requires argument more convincing than what is given here. One who already shares the author's insights or who immediately responds to his assertions will be deeply grateful for the arresting sentences that express those insights: but one who is not at first convinced by all the assertions is hardly likely to feel that he is reliably

conducted from what he can accept to what the author presents as its consequence, especially in the earlier chapters. Sometimes the author seems to make things unnecessarily complicated. The etymological study of the cognates of 'reparation' includes so odd a word as 'to reparate', but does not recognize as a cognate the commonest of them all, the verb 'to repair'. The argument on pages 14-16 based on quotations, in which the words 'misthos' and 'antimisthia' are used, does not seem to the present reviewer to show 'a clear distinction of meaning' and does not strengthen 'the contention that the idea of reward has little relevance, if any, to the Christian doctrine of Reparation'.

Some sentences read oddly. What is one to make of this (italics mine)? 'There are many New Testament instances where the association of the word *ekklesia*, especially when it is used in the plural, cannot be explained by its Old Testament history but are readily intelligible in the light of the new Christian concept of he ekklesia hetis esti to soma autou (ἡ ἐκκλησία ἣτις ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ)'. Are there many 'bodies'? On page 22 we read: 'In the preceding section we have spoken of the bankruptcy of the Old Testament as regards finding a solution to the problem of sin', but that section culminates in a quotation of St. Augustine's maxim: 'The New Testament lay hidden in the Old; the Old is revealed in the New.' Several re-readings of that section have failed to discover that 'bankruptcy', rather the reverse.

This last quotation poses a more serious question. If the charge of 'bankruptcy' is to be laid against the sacrificial system and the prophetic teaching of the Old Testament, may it not be laid against the Church's proclamation of the Gospel? The actual state of the world, and in particular the failure of the Church as a whole really to enter into the 'reparative activity' after two millennia of the Church's witness, might make one ask whether the Sacrifice of Christ had also been a failure. It is not an adequate answer to point to those Christians in the Church who engage in reparative activity: for the sacrificial system and the prophetic teaching also had their devotees and disciples. It is easy to dismiss them as 'bankrupt', since Israel as a whole was not redeemed: in what way can the charge be sustained against them and not against the Christian gospel? Perhaps the weakness of the book here is the lack of a discussion of the Christian Hope: of the Goal of Reparation in the consummation of the Kingdom of God.

But even if at times the argument is not convincing, and the frequent cross-references are rather confusing, the richness of the book lies in its spiritual depth. Few could read this without being enlightened by its interpretation of spiritual truth and being challenged by the practical relevance of the examples in which the Christian's life is shown as a 'living sacrifice' through union with Christ in His Perfect Sacrifice.

E. L. WENGER

Man, the Bridge between Two Worlds: by Franz E. Winkler.
Hodder & Stoughton, N.Y., 1960. Pp. 266.

Here is a book with a gripping message. Like prophets of old whose hearts were burning with zeal to proclaim what they had to tell to the world, this author makes a passionately powerful appeal to cultivate arts, culture, and true religion born of innate experience. His central thesis is man is the bridge between the worlds of intuition and intellect. By intuition he means comprehensiveness; it is wisdom that comes from inspiration; it is the talent of poets, prophets and ancient seers; it is the insight behind folklore. By intellect he means knowledge born of scientific research, analytic observation of a specific field which excludes quality, meaning, appreciation and relevance to the whole.

While he has nothing against science or scientific methods (having himself undergone a strict scientific discipline as a medical doctor) he has much to say against the so-called scientific philosophy based on a mechanistic and a materialistic interpretation of the universe. This view according to him is neither philosophic nor scientific. Schools of Psychology based on this world-view are the bane of the modern age. A large part of the evils of our age, like the increasing attempts of totalitarian states at world domination, juvenile delinquency, and an alarmingly large number of mental break-downs, are directly the result of influence from such a *weltanschauung*. Such psychological views tend to make people robots rather than robust personalities. They poison the very basis of educational methods. These are the outcome of a false scientific philosophy but science as such is needed very badly. It is indispensable; so is the scientific method, the method of the intellect.

However, intellect is only one pillar on which the edifice of man's life stands, the other pillar is intuition. In ancient times intellect had advanced very little while intuition played a great part. The best of human life is possible only when the wisdom of intuition is combined with the knowledge of intellect. So the defect of the modern age is the domination of intellect whereas the drawback of the primitive man was the domination of intuition. But there have been occasionally some eras in the past when the balance between intuition and the intellect was maintained. The classical age which produced in Greece the best of artists, philosophers, statesmen, mathematicians and scientists is an instance.

According to this author, myths and legends contained the wisdom of intuition and as such they should not be thrown away as idle tales. They contained answers to many knotty problems which modern psychology is unable to solve. The author wants us to cultivate intuition by training the mind to appreciate the true, the good and the beautiful. This involves a training which requires the undivided attention to the qualitative aspects of life. So the author allots one full chapter to this topic, 'Training in Intuition'. Religion, not the scientific approach to religion, helps here. He says, 'Religion will never come to life in intellectual

Bible research, in self-righteous virtue or humanitarianism'. It has to be approached with reverence and appreciation.

While the author has drawn a realistic picture of the present-day world, he is not pessimistic. He believes that even Russia cannot impose over its people the totalitarian rule for long because when the economic status of the people is raised (and he is sure that there it is being rapidly raised) the necessity for idealism like sacrificial service and for building up a new world will decline sharply and Communism will then become a spent force. He also believes that Russians are a religious people and that an atheistic ideology like the one propounded by Karl Marx will not flourish among them for a long time. In the author's own words: 'the reins of destiny are in our hands'. That is, we have the means of training our intuitive talents which will regenerate humanity.

No doubt, this book has a real message, one that is wholesome and challenging, especially to parents, teachers, ministers and statesmen. The author, the distinguished physician, has practised in this book what he preaches by blending a large mass of scientific information with the inspiration that comes from viewing things as a whole. He marshals his arguments carefully and presents facts forcefully.

However, he seems at times to over-reach the mark by reading in between the lines his pet ideas of folklore or legend or myth. Every mythical story referred to in the book is put into the Procrustean bed of a preconceived theory and that which does not fit is safely lopped off. Here are a few instances:—In the Trojan War Helen, born of Zeus, stands for the Spirit of Greece, signifying the appearance of intellect and begins to predominate the culture of the race. Zeus carrying Europa to Crete; the centaur teaching Hercules; the sleeping beauty in the fairy tale; the Kreta age of the Hindus; the Garden of Eden in the Bible; the Babylonian mythological account of men shooting arrows from the tower of Babel—all these, according to the author, show only one fact, namely that intuition predominated in the pre-intellectual age.

Another point of criticism also must be made. The author emphasizes the inspirational and experiential side of religion over against a strictly scientific and analytic approach. This is well and good, but apparently there seems to be no difference in the approach or treatment between myth, legend, fairy tale and religious narratives. All these are treated alike with equal reverence. Very few ardent followers of religion would subscribe to the ascription of such equality, especially where their own accepted Scriptures are also taken into account.

But the book as a whole has a real value because his arguments seem to be right and the solution he offers is practical. It is thought-stimulating, mind-refreshing and life-challenging and we commend the book.

R. D. IMMANUEL

Let Wisdom Judge : by Charles Simeon. Inter-Varsity Fellowship. 9s. 6d.

This is a collected volume of University Addresses and Sermon Outlines by the great eighteenth-century churchman, pastor and preacher, Charles Simeon of Cambridge. There are ten University Addresses on such subjects as 'The Corruption of Human Nature', 'Justification by Faith', 'The Churchman's Confession' and 'The Spirit's Work in Believers'. There are also seven Sermon Outlines. The book also contains a section entitled 'Hints on Writing Sermons', from Claude's 'Essay on the Composition of a Sermon'. These addresses will appear heavy in style to modern readers, especially the opening ones, which should not be allowed to deter the reader from continuing his reading. But it goes without saying that this is a most valuable book, containing many of the best sermons of this great preacher, whose ministry in his day brought many souls to a knowledge of their sin and to a saving faith in Christ. There is solid Biblical doctrine here, and much can be learnt about Simeon's method of presenting that doctrine.

A. C. M. H.

Earth's Remotest End : by J. C. Pollock. Hodder & Stoughton.

This book is a record of the recent travels of a Church of England clergyman in various countries of Asia. He was invited by the publisher to set down his experiences of visiting the Church and Christian people in Asia. The idea was to get an account for British readers of the Church in other lands, in a volume of a more readable nature than that usually associated with 'church literature'. The book fulfils this aim, one would think, to some extent. The chapters are racy, chatty and readable. The author is at his best when describing pioneer work in isolated outposts of the Christian Mission, e.g. in Nepal or parts of S.E. Asia. His chapters on India can only be described as disappointing and superficial. This is partly because he had previously already visited India and therefore his journey as recorded here does not cover a very wide area. Perhaps it is also due to the fact that accounts of the Christian Mission in jungle outposts are inevitably easier to write up than accounts of the Christian Mission in the on-going complex life of the Christian Church in a large Asiatic country today. But perhaps I was expecting too much in a book which is admittedly about 'remotest ends'.

Bishop's College
Calcutta

C. HARGREAVES

Vocabulary of the Bible : edited by J.-J. von Allmen. Published by the Lutterworth Press, London. Pp. 479. Price 30s.

We have not received a copy of this book for review, but its interest warrants a short notice in this *Journal*. It is an attempt

to do something very similar to what Alan Richardson and his collaborators achieved in the Theological Word Book of the Bible. The treatment in this volume is sometimes fuller than that in Richardson's, but the entries are fewer in number. Its great interest lies in the fact that it is the work of a group of French Protestant theologians, and this translation opens up for the English reader what is a very rich and stimulating field of theological study. Some of the names are already known to us—Professors Cullmann and Jacob, for example—but many of them we will meet for the first time in this volume. The price is the same as that of the latest edition of Richardson's book. One will not supplant the other. Rather, happy is the man who possesses both.

*Bishop's College
Calcutta*

K. N. JENNINGS

The Sierra Leone Church: A Contemporary Study by Raymond Samuel Foster. Published by S.P.C.K., London. Pp. 76. Price 3s. 6d.

For those who are seriously engaged in the current attempt at a re-appraisal of the World Mission of the Church, and who wish their judgements to be based on factual information rather than mere theory, this study will prove valuable. The author spent some four years in a teaching ministry in Sierra Leone, and he writes with the freshness of observation that such a period makes possible. The problems created by a linguistically mixed country, by the unusual background of this territory, and by the all too familiar heritage of a missionary policy which took the form of rule are clearly presented. A foreword by Bishop Stephen Neill helps to put the study in perspective.

One disappointing feature is the almost total exclusiveness with which the writer deals only with his own denomination (the Anglican) and the impression that there is no very clear awareness of the futility of seeking to build up the Christian Church, or to commend the Gospel as a word of living hope to men, unless Christians can manifest a much sharper awareness of their unity in Christ.

W. S.

Books and Periodicals Received

Oxford University Press:

D. L. Munby. GOD AND THE RICH SOCIETY
J. R. Macphail. NOTES ON THE DAILY BIBLE READINGS OF THE
CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA.

Inter-Varsity Fellowship:

J. I. Packer. EVANGELISM AND THE SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD.
Henry Scougal. THE LIFE OF GOD IN THE SOUL.
Frank Houghton. FAITH'S UNCLAIMED INHERITANCE.

Hodder and Stoughton:

Patricia McGerr. MARTHA MARTHA.
Donald Soper. THE ADVOCACY OF THE GOSPEL.
Marin Jarrett-Kerr. AFRICAN PULSE.
George Reindorp. PUTTING IT OVER.
Edith Fraser. THE BIBLE TELLS ME SO.
Genevieve Caulfield. THE KINGDOM WITHIN.
Elizabeth Goudge. ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI.
John A. Gates. THE LIFE AND THOUGHT OF KIERKEGAARD FOR
EVERY MAN.
Michael C. Oerry. THE PATTERN OF MATINS AND EVENSONG.
Leslie Paul. SON OF MAN.
Rudolf Bultmann. EXISTENCE AND FAITH.
Canon Frank Colquhoun. THE GOSPELS FOR SUNDAYS AND PRIN-
CIPAL HOLY DAYS OF THE CHURCH'S YEAR.
Elizabeth Elliot. THE SAVAGE MY KINSMAN.

Epworth Press:

John F. Butler. THE HOLINESS OF BEAUTY.

S.P.C.K.:

Trevor Ling. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SATAN.

S.C.M.:

AIKYA for June and August-September.

N.C.C.:

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL REVIEW for October, 1961.